# THE HISTORY OF THE Bloody Massacres OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE IN THE Year of our LORD, 1572.

WRITTEN

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# THE HISTORY OF THE Bloody Massacres OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE

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# A brief Introduction to the History of the MASSACRE.

THE Lords of the House of Guise, whether through the instigation of the Jesuites, whom they first introduced into France, and highly favoured, or through their emulation * against the Princes of the Blood who favoured the Reformed Religion, or both, professing themselves great zealots for the Papal Authority, and irreconcilable enemies to the Hugonots, (as they called them of the Reformed Religion) especially after the dissentions grew high between them and the Princes, to whom they doubted not but the Protestants would adhere, as well upon the account of Religion as of the Right of the Princes, having * by force gotten the young King Charles 9. into their hands, endeavoured by all means to raise in his mind as great prejudice and hatred against the Protestants and the chief men of their

* V. Discourse, sect. 40.

* V. Disc. sect. 41.

*their party as possible. The young King thus trained up in prejudice against them, and moreover from his youth inured to cruelty, and the slaughters of his Subjects even in cold blood, whereof by the D. of Guise he had been early made a spectator, was scarce out of his minority when he was invited by the Pope, the K. of Spain, and the D. of Savoy to joyn in a holy League for the extirpation of the Heretiques: but being by nature of an Italian genius, and well instructed by his Mother in the policies of her Country, he chose as a more safe and surer way to attempt that rather by secret stratagems and surprize than by open hostility. And therefore at an* enterview at Bayonne *between him with his Mother, and his Sister the Queen of Spain accompanied with the D. of Alva, having by the way had secret conference at Avignon with some of the Pope's trusty Ministers (the Pope having perswaded that meeting, and earnestly pressed the King of Spain himself to be present at it) it was concluded to cut off the chief heads of the Protestants, and then, in imitation of the Sicilian Vespers, to slaughter all the rest to the last man. But the de-*

V. D'sc. sect. 42.

*sign*

*ſigne being diſcovered to the Prince of Conde, Colinius and others of the Nobility, when they perceived ſuch preparations made for the execution of it, as, unleſs timely prevented, they were likely ſuddenly to be all deſtroyed, they put themſelves into a poſture of defence, whereupon broke out a Civil War. But that being contrary to the deſign to effect the buſineſs by ſtrategem and ſurprize, it was in few months compoſed for the preſent; but ſhortly after, when the ſame deſign was again perceived to be carried on, and the like inevitable danger appeared as near as before, was again renewed in the former manner, and continued ſomewhat longer and hotter than before. Whereupon the King perceiving that the greateſt difficulty was to beget and confirm in the Proteſtant Nobility a truſt and confidence in himſelf, uſed all arts imaginable to do that; and to that purpoſe in all ſolemn manner granting and confirming to the Proteſtants in France very fair terms of peace and ſecurity, he at the ſame time pretended a reſolution to make a war with Spain, entred into a League with the Queen of England, and with the Proteſtant Prin-*

V. Diſc. ſect. 43.

V. Diſc. ſect. 45.

*Princes of Germany; and, which was the principal part of the policy, proposed a match between the Prince of Navar, the first Prince of the Blood, and chief of the Protestant Party, and his Sister Margaret, as that which would not only serve his purpose to beget a confidence in the Protestants of his sincerity and good intention, but moreover afford him a fair opportunity at the solemnization of the Marriage, of effecting his design at last, which had been so often and so long disappointed. All which having managed with wonderful art and dissimulation, he at last obtained what he desired, as in the following History is more particularly related.*

# THE HISTORY OF THE MASSACRES OF THE Protestants at PARIS, and many other places in FRANCE, in the Year of our Lord, 1572.

1. THE day of the Nuptials [*between Henr. King of Navar and Margaret Sister to the King of France*] drawing on, which was appointed the 15th. of the Kalends of September, the King by Letters solicits Coligni, that he should come to Paris, having before given in charge to Claudius Marcellus Provost of the Merchants, that he should see to it, that no disturbance did arise upon Coligni's coming to Paris. *Lib. 5.* * *August* 18 *th.*

ris. Likewiſe *Proclamation* was *publiſhed* the third of the
*July 5th.* Nones of July, when he was at *Caſtrum-Bononiæ*, about two miles from the City, wherein it was forbidden, that any of what condition ſoever ſhould dare to renew the memory of things paſt, give occaſion of new quarrels, carry piſtols, fight duels, draw their ſwords, eſpecially in the King's retinue at Paris, and in the Suburbs, upon pain of death. But if any difference ſhould ariſe among the Nobles concerning their Honour or Reputation, they ſhould be bound to bring their plaint to the Duke of Anjou, the King's Deputy throughout the whole Kingdom, and to pray juſtice of him: if they were of the Commons, they ſhould betake themſelves to the High Chancellor de l'Hoſpital: if it ſhall happen among thoſe that ſhall not be in the Court, but in Paris, they ſhall go before the ordinary Magiſtrate. It was alſo provided by the ſame Proclamation, that thoſe who were not of the Courts of any of the Princes or Nobles, or of the Retinue of others, or were not detained upon ſome neceſſary buſineſs, but were of uncertain abode and habitation about Paris or the Suburbs, ſhould depart from the Court & City within 24 hours after the publication of this Edict, upon the ſame pain of death. This was publiſhed for three days together, with the ſound of Trumpet in the Court, and through the City, and it was ordered that the publication ſhould be repeated week by week upon the Sabbath-day. Alſo there was adjoyned to the guards of the King's body for his greater ſecurity, a guard of 400 choice Souldiers; all which *Coligni* full of confidence and good aſſurance ſo *interpreted*, as if the King deſirous of the publick Peace, did (only) prepare a contrary ſtrength againſt thoſe which were ſeditious, and movers of troubles. Therefore he *comes into the City*, though *many* were greatly *diſturbed at it*: to whom, when they importunately dehorted him both by letter and word of mouth, he, after he had given them thanks, anſwered in one word; "That he was reſolved "now that Peace was concluded, and things paſt forgotten, "to rely upon the faith of the King, and that he had rather "be dragged through the ſtreets of Paris, than to take up "Civil Arms again."

2. Among

2. Among other *letters* there was one *brought to him* being now come to Paris, written very smartly after this manner. 'Remember that it is an established Decree of the Papists, 'upon the account of Religion, and confirmed by the authority of Councils, that Faith is not to be kept with hereticks; 'in the number of which Protestants are accounted. Remember also that Protestants upon the account of the former 'Wars, do lie under an eternal odium; so that it is not to be 'doubted but this is the Queens resolution, that Protestants 'be rooted out by any means whatsoever. Add to this that 'it cannot be, but that a woman that is a stranger, and an Italian, descended of the race of the Popes, (whom they oppose) and of a Florentine and guileful nature, should study 'all extremities against her enemies. Consider moreover in 'what School the King was educated, in which he drew in 'with his milk under his good Tutors this Doctrine; 'that he should make it a sport to swear and forswear, to 'use the name of God profanely, to defile himself with 'Whoredomes and Adulteries, to dissemble his Faith, Religion, Counsels, to set his countenance (according to occasion). 'And that he might be accustomed to the effusion of the 'bloud of his Subjects, he was taught from his childhood 'to behold the slaughters and butcheries of * beasts: that he is 'setled in this perswasion to suffer no Religion in his King- 'dom but that which may uphold his state, (according to the 'opinion of his Master Machiavel) otherwise it would never 'be at Peace, so long as two Religions flourished in it, and that 'it was instilled into his ears that the Protestants did decree 'to spoil him of his Life and Empire. And therefore he 'would never suffer the Protestants who had once, whether 'upon a just or unjust cause, taken up Arms against him, to 'enjoy the benefit of his Edict, but that he would with Arms 'revenge what was done with Arms against him; nor would 'he look upon himself obliged to keep his Covenants which 'he had entred into with his armed Subjects. These are the 'Arts of Princes, the Elements of Policy, the Arcana Impe- 'rii. So Commodus of old commanded Julian, whom 'he owned and embraced as his Father, to be slain. Thus

* And of men also, *v. l.* 24. *p.* 275.

Antonius Caracalla, under pretence of musstering, slew the prime youth of the City. So Lysander cut the throats of eight hundred Milesians called together under pretence of friendship and society. So Sergius Galba raged upon six thousand Spaniards; and lately by the command of Antonius Spinola, the chief men of the Isle of Corsica were called together to a Feast, and slain. In our memory did Christiern a King of a barbarous nature use the same arts in the Massacre of Stockholm. So heretofore Charles 7. though reconciled to the Duke of Burgundy, yet abstained not from killing him, though he begged for his life. Nor are the discourses that the King lately had with his mother at Blois unknown. For when in a jocular manner profanely using, as his custom is, the name of God, he asked her whether he had not acted his part handsomely at the coming of the Queen of Navar? the Queen answered that he had begun well, but these beginnings would little advantage him unless he proceeded; But I, said he, with often repeated oaths, will bring them all into your toils. From these words, the truth whereof you may be assured of, you ought to take counsel, and if you are wise get out of the City, and so from the Court, as from a most filthy sink, with all the speed as may be.

3. *Coligni* having read this letter, though he was not a little troubled at it, yet that he might not seem altogether to neglect the admonitions and intreaties of his friends, made answer, That there was no place left for these suspitions, that he could never perswade himself that so great perfidiousness could enter into so good a King, than whom France for this many years never had a better. That Anjou indeed was more averse to the Protestant party, but that hatred would now cease, even out of respect to the affinity contracted with the King of Navar. For the rest, the League entred into with England, and that which the King was now making with the Protestant Princes of the Empire, did sufficiently shew how he stood affected to the Protestants, when as he would have one of the Sons of the Elector Palatine in his retinue; and some one of the English Nobles,

as Leicester or Burgleii, who were most forward for Religion. Moreover he had given his Faith to the Prince of Orange and Nassau his Brother, concerning aids against the Spaniards, and that a great supply was preparing in the place of those who were routed under Jenlis their leader. That John Galeacius Fulgosius, who lately returned from Florence, did assure them, that Cosimus would lend the King two hundred thousand Aurei towards that War. That the King's Ambassador did carefully pry into the counsels of the Duke of Alva, and daily acquaint the King with them. That this he knew every day from the King. That the Navy that Philip Strossy and Polipius Garda do command at Broage, and upon the Coasts of Poictou was not prepared to any other use but to disturb the Spanish Fleet, which being done, it shall go to help the Prince of Orange at Flushing. As for himself and his own particular safety, all might be secure of that; for that he through the King's means is reconciled to the Guises, each engaging their Faith to the King, that they would neither of them hereafter impeach one the other. Lastly, that the King did all he could to make Peace at home and War abroad, and that he might transfer the War into the Low-Countreys, and against the Spaniards. Wherefore he prayed the Author of the writing, and others that are of his mind, that they would no more with their suspitions trouble his mind, which was taken up with more weighty businesses, and better designs, but rather that they would joyning their prayers with his, beg of God that he would prosper things so well begun, and bring them at last to an happy end, for the good of the Church and Kingdom.

*The same things were written to Caligni from the Rochellers*, which he did in as friendly manner take off with all moderation and constancy. Therefore when they could not divert him from that mind, they set upon *the King of Navar* with Letters dated 6 of the Eids of July, in which they *desire him* upon the same accounts, that he should take care of himself, and not go to Paris. He was then at the Nuptials of Henricus Condæus his Anckle's Son, and Mary of Cleve his

*July* 10th.

† *Vid. l.* 50. p. 787.

his near Kinswoman, which were celebrated at Blandia a Castle of Jo. Roan Marchioness of Rotelin, who was Mother to Frances of Aurleans * last Wife to Lewis of Conde, within the jurisdiction of Melun. Therefore he despising the warnings of his Friends, the Nuptials of the Prince of Conde being finished, *comes to Paris* with him, and a great retinue of Protestants in the beginning of August, where *new delays* are purposely invented by the Queen; for whereas at first there was hope given of favour to be obtained from the Pope by the Cardinal of Lorain, who was then at Rome, to remove the obstacle of proximity and difference in Religion, a Breve was brought to Charles Cardinal of Burbon, designed to finish the business; wherewith notwithstanding he said he he was not satisfied; therefore he desired another more full might be sent from Rome, wherein it might be more amply provided for him. Therefore the King laid the fault of the delay upon the Cardinal of Burbon, who he said, by way of scorn, was tied up by superstition, and I know not what scruples of conscience; and by that means great injury was done to his Margarite (so he called his Sister) who bore it very impatiently to have the fruit of her so long expected joy deferred.

* *Vid. l.* 35. *p.* 559.

5. When in the mean time *Coligni prested that the publick proclaiming of the Low-Countrey War* so often deliberated about, and approved of, and now whether he would or not begun, might be no longer deferred, he again made delays, and declined it, and often replied to him, importuning him, that he had not any Counsellor or Officer of his Army to whose faithfulness, industry and diligence he could commit so great an affair. For some were wholly addicted to the party of the Guises; others had other faults of their own: of his Secretaries there was only Bernardus Fiza whom he could entrust with this secret. At last it was agreed that the affair should be committed to Momorancy and Fiza: with which shews of unfeigned familiarity, as he took it, and ingenuous freedom, Coligni being deceived, would not perswade himself any thing otherwise than of truly Kingly virtue, or think hardly of the most excellent King.

6. Amidst

6. Amidſt theſe delays (thoſe) things, as it ſhould ſeem, being altogether compoſed, about which before there was a difference among the Conſpirators, there came *Letters* by ſecret comport *from the King's Ambaſſador with the Pope*, in which the King is certified of a diſpenſation now granted, and ſhortly to be ſent from Rome by Poſt, wherein the ſcrupulous conſcience of Burbon was fully ſatisfied: therefore when, upon the *16th.* of the Kalends of September, they were *contracted* by Cardinal Borbon in the Louvre, the next day after *the Nuptials* were *celebrated.* *Auguſt 17th.*

An high Scaffold is erected before the gates of the great Church, by which they deſcended by ſtairs unto a lower Scaffold, which being on every ſide railed in to keep off the multitude, did lead through the Church to the inner apartment commonly called the Chore. From thence another Scaffold encompaſſed with rails did receive thoſe that went out of the Chore toward the left gate, which reached to the Biſhop's Palace; thither came out of the Louvre with all Royal Pomp, and moſt magnificent ſhew, the King, the Queen-Mother, with the Brethren the Dukes of Anjou and Alanſon, the Guiſes, the Colonels of the Horſe, the chief Peers of the Kingdom leading along the Bride, who lodged that night in the Biſhop's Palace. And from the other part, the King of Navar, with the Princes of Conde and Contie his Couſins, Coligni Admiral of the Sea, Franciſcus Count de la Roche-foucault, and a great company of the Proteſtant Nobles, who came together out of all Provinces of the Kingdom.

When the King had aſcended to that higher Scaffold, the Ceremonies in manner as was agreed being performed by Cardinal Borbon, the King and Navar with his Party came by the lower Scaffold into the Chore, where having placed his Wife before the great Altar to hear Maſs, he with Coligni and Count de la Roche-fou-eault, and the other Nobles of his Retinue went into the Biſhop's Palace by the contrary door afore-mentioned; from whence after Maſs was ended, being recalled by D'Anvil, he came into the Chore again, and kiſſing his new Bride before the King, Queen, and the Brethren, when they had entertained one another ſome little while with diſcourſe,

discourse, they returned into the Bishop's Palace, where dinner was provided. And I well remember when as Mass being ended, I was admitted through the rails into the Choire, and standing nigh to Coligni, while I fixed my eyes upon him, and curiously observed him, I heard him say, discoursing with d'Anville, and looking up to the Ensigns fastned up and down, and the sad Monuments of the Battel of Dallac and Montcontour, "That ere long these being taken down, others "more pleasing should be set up in their places: which words, then he meant of the Low-Country War, which as he thought was now resolved upon, others interpreted as though he had thoughts of a new Civil War, which he so much abhorred.

7. After Dinner they went into the Palace, where a royal Supper was prepared, and all orders of the City and the Senate, together with the Courts of Accounts, Customs and Treasury are entertained according as is usual in a most sumptuous manner: a short time was spent in dancing; afterwards Interludes were brought in. The representation of three Rocks rivered over, upon which the three Brethren, the King, the Duke of Anjou, and Duke of Alanson did sit, and seven more, upon which Gods and Sea-monsters were set, which followed, being drawn along in Coaches, and were brought through the great Hall of the Palace, which was divided by a triumphal arch in the middle, and when they made a stand, some choice Musitians recited Verses in their own Tongue, composed by the best of their Poets. And thus a great part of the night being spent in interludes, they afterwards betook themselves to their rest.

The *next day* being not able to rise before the Sun was got high, at three a clock after-noon they went to dinner at the Duke of Anjou's Palace, where after dancing they went toward the evening to the Lourre.

The *day following* being *Wednesday*, running at Tilt, and *interludes* which had been a long while in preparing, were *exhibited at the Cardinal Bourbon's Palace*: there were represented upon the right hand the Mansions of the blessed, and a little below the Elysian fields possessed by 22 Nymphs, on

the

the other ſide on the left-hand was repreſented Hell flaming with fire and brimſtone, and full of ſprights and frightful ghoſts. The Brethren, the King, the Duke of Anjou, and the Duke of Alanſon defended Paradiſe as they called it: which many Knights Errant ſeeking to break into, of whom Navar was Captain; they were every one of them repulſed, and at laſt thrown headlong down into Hell. Then Mercury riding upon a Cock, and together with him Cupid came ſliding down to the defendants, and then after much diſcourſe with them returned into Heaven. Then the three defendants came to the Nymphs wandring in the pleaſant green fields, and led them into the middle of the Hall, where the Spectators were with much pleaſure entertained with new Dances about the Fountain for a full hour. Then the defendants being prevailed upon by their entreaties, the Knights Errant that were ſhut up in Hell were releaſed; who preſently in a confuſed skirmiſh break their ſpears: at laſt the Gunpowder that was laid by pipes about the Fountain being fired, fire broak forth with a great noiſe, and conſumed all their Scenes, and ſo all departed.

This ſhew was variouſly interpreted, for that the aſſailants who were moſt of them Proteſtants, did in vain attempt to get into the ſeats of the bleſſed, and were afterwards thruſt down into Hell: for ſo they put a mockery upon the Proteſtants, and others did bode that it portended ſome miſchief. However, certain it is, that *Francis E. of Momorancy*, whether ſuſpecting ſome evil, or being indiſpoſed by reaſon of the toſſing of the Sea, as lately returned from his Ambaſſy in England, having obtained leave of the King, *went to Chantilly* for his health's ſake; leaving in the Court Henry d'Anville, Carolus Meruvius, and Gulielmus Thoræus (his) Brethren, and that very happily for that moſt Illuſtrious Family: for it was the general opinion, that the plotters of the following Maſſacre would have comprehended them all in this conſpiracy, had they not feared that Momorancy, who was now abſent, would have revenged it. *V. Da. p. 370.*

The *next day* being *Thurſday*, there was running at *Tilts* held in the Court-yard of the Louvre, in which on the one

side the King and his Brethren, together with the Duke of Guise, and the Duke of Aumale in the habit of Amazons; and on the other side the King of Navar, with his party in Turkish habits, contended with their launces; Scaffolds being set up on either side, from which the Queen-Mother, the King's Wife, Lorain, and all the Court-Ladies beheld the sports.

8. Two days before the Counsel concerning the Massacre being not yet concluded, *the King* with great shew of kindness *bespeaks Coligni* (thus). 'You know, Father, (so he called him upon the account of his age and honour) what you 'undertook to me, that you would offer no injury, so long as 'you are at Court, to the Guises: and they again engaged, 'that they, as they ought, would behave themselves toward 'you and yours honourably and modestly. I repose very 'great trust in your words, but I have not the like confidence 'in their promises. For, besides that I know the Guises do 'by all means seek revenge, I know their daring and haughty 'nature, and in what favour they are with the people of Pa'ris. It would be a very great grief to me, if they who un'der pretence of coming to the Marriage, have brought with 'them a great party of souldiers well appointed, should at'tempt any thing to your hurt; for that would be an injury 'to my self: Therefore, if you think it expedient, I think it 'convenient, *that the Regiment of the Guards be drawn into the 'City* under these Commanders, (then he named those who 'were no way suspected), who, if any turbulent persons at'tempt any thing, may be ready at hand to secure the publick 'Peace.

To such friendly discourse Coligni easily yielded his assent out of a desire of domestick Peace, and being already overcome by the Court-flatteries: therefore a Regiment is drawn within the walls, without any suspition of the Protestants.

9. This being done, *they enter into Counsel* again*, and after some debate the thing was left undetermined, their opinions vary

* *Lib.* 51. He mentions a former Consultation between the Queen-Mother, Anjou, Cardinal Lorain, Aumale, Guise, Birage, and others in the same Chamber, wherein Guise was afterwards by the King's Command killed, and afterwards in the same buildings where the King himself Henr. 3. here called Anjou, was murthered by a Fryer.

varying according to the condition of places, and of the persons admitted to the Council. For thus it was discourſed *before the King*, with whom were in Council the Queen-Mother, the Duke of Anjou, and others.

'There are *two factions* in the Kingdom; one of the Mo-'morancies, to whom the Colignies were formerly added, but 'now upon the account of Religion, by which they have en-'gaged many (to them), they conſtitute *a new faction*. The 'other is of the Guiſes: nor will France ever be quiet, or 'that Majeſty that is taken from Kings by the Civil Wars 'thence ariſing, ever be reſtored till the chief of their 'Heads who diſturb the moſt flouriſhing Empire, and the pub-'lick Peace, be ſtricken off. They, by the troubles of the 'Kingdom, have grown to ſo great Power, that they cannot 'be taken away at the ſame time: they are *ſeverally to be ta-'ken off, and ſet one againſt the other*, that they may deſtroy 'one another. Coligni muſt be begun with who only ſur-'vives of his Family, who being taken out of the way, it 'would much weaken the Momorancies, who lie under ſo 'great an odium upon the account of their joyning with 'Coligni. But this is an unworthy thing, and not to be ſuf-'fered by you, (ſaid they, directing their diſcourſe to the 'King), that a man whom only Nobility commends, one that 'is advanced to honour by the favour of Kings, now grown 'burdenſom to the Nobility, equal to Princes in honour, 'grievous to your ſelf, ſhould come to that height of madneſs 'and boldneſs, that he ſhould count it a ſport to mock at 'Royal Majeſty, and every day at his own luſt to raiſe Wars 'in the Kingdom. Certainly his madneſs is above all things 'by you, if you be indeed King, to be reſtrained, that by his 'example all may learn to bear their fortunes decently, and 'uſe them modeſtly. Nor only ſhall the faction of the Mo-'morances be broken by his death, but the power of the 'Proteſtants ſhall be over-turned; of which, when he is the 'very heart and ſoul, in him alone the Proteſtants ſeem to 'live, and he being dead, they will fall with him. This 'is not only uſeful, but neceſſary for ſetling the publick 'Peace, when as experience doth ſhew, that as one houſe can-

'not keep two Dogs, nor one three relieve two Parrots, so one
'and the same Kingdom cannot bear two Religions. This
'may be done without danger or blame, if some cut-throat,
'as there are enough of them to be had, be suborned to take
'away the life of Coligni, encouraged by some present re-
'ward, and hopes of future; who having done the thing,
'may make his escape by the help of a light horse prepared
*V. Dav. p 368; 370. The opinion of Alberto Gondi Coun. of Retz.* 'for that purpose. For then, without doubt, the Protestants,
'who are very numerous in the City, supposing it to be done
'by the Guises, will presently, as you know they are a furious
'sort of people, take up Arms, and setting upon the Guisians,
'they shall easily be cut off by their greater numbers; (for
'the people of Paris are much addicted to them), and per-
'haps the Momorances so hateful to the Parisians, shall be in-
'volved in the same tumult. But if the thing proceed not
'so far, yet at least the blame of the fact, from which you
'shall receive great advantage, shall be translated from you
'upon the Guisians, (as bearing yet in memory the murder
'of their Father) whom, having destroyed their Rivals, you
'shall soon reduce into good order. This thing being done,
'you shall forthwith be able to determine concerning the
'chief leaders of the Protestants, whom you have in your
'power, who, no doubt, will return to their old Religion,
'and due allegiance to you when evil Counsellors shall be re-
'moved.

And when it was debated in *the Queen's Council* among those that were to be trusted, their discourse went further, that not only the Momorances with Coligni should be taken off, but that the Guisians should at some fit opportunity be slain, as those whom the Queen ought in no wise to trust or spare, being heretofore grievously and often offended by her. For so the Counsellors ordered the matter, if the Protestants should go about to revenge the death of Coligni, they and the Momorances should in the conflict be oppressed by the people, as being inferior in strength. But not without great loss to the adversaries, whom the King having drawn a great number of Souldiers, which he had then at his command, into the Louvre, sitting as a spectator, might at

last

last set upon, being broken, and weakened by fighting, and as though they had taken Arms without his command, and by way of sedition, might command them all to be slain together with the Nobles, as taking this or that party: for whiles they remained safe, there would be no end of murmurs and complaints against the Queen; whom the seditious cry out upon as a stranger, and so fit to be removed from the Government of the Kingdom.

10. These were their divers counsels according to the diversity of the persons, but they all agreed in the executing of the matter. The Duke of Guise being at last taken into the privity of the fact, though otherwise he knew nothing of the other Counsels, *an Assasine* was sought for, and presently *Morevell* appears, being as it seemed provided for that purpose; who having formerly undertaken to do such a villany, he fled into the Camp of the Protestants, but being affrighted by the danger of it, lest he should seem to have done nothing, he treacherously slew Arthurus Valdræus Moius, and from that time often changing his lodgings, he concealed himself in the house of the Guises, in which Family he was brought up from a child. An house was also pitched upon in the Cloyster of St. German Auxerrois, as they call it, the house of Peter Pila Villemur, who had formerly been Tutor to the Duke of Guise himself; by which Coligni returning home, must needs pass.

*Monsieur de May at the siege of Niort. Dav. p. 376.*

Therefore upon the *Friday*, *Coligni* having dispatched much business in the King's Council, where Anjou was present, and composed a difference between Antonius, Marasmus, Guerchius and Tiangius, chief of the Nobility of the Burgundians, forward men; he attended upon the King to the next Tennis-Court, from whence, after a promise from the King, the Duke of Guise and Teligny, betaking himself homeward, walking on foot by the house of Villemur, going gently along, and reading a Petition which was then by chance presented to him, Morevel discharging a Musquet from a window that had a linen Curtain drawn before it, he was *shot with a brace of bullets*, whereof one struck off the forefinger of his right-hand, and the other wounded him more

dan-

dangerously in his left-arm, while Guerchius was upon his right-hand, and Rochus, Sorbæus, Prunæus upon his left, who, as likewise all that were there, were exceedingly astonished at what was done.

But he with a countenance not disturbed, only shewed them the house whence the bullets came, and presently commands Armanus, Claromontius, Pilius, and Franciscus Movinius, that they should go the King, and in his name acquaint him with what was done: then binding up his arm, and leaning upon his domesticks, he came on foot to his lodging, which was not far off; and when he was advised by one of his company that he should see to it, whether the bullets wherewith he was wounded were not poisoned, he answered, that nothing should befall him but what was ordered by God.

Forthwith they force the house whence the shot proceeded, and breaking open the dores, found the Musquet in a lower room. A young maid and a page that were found there, were taken and bound; for Morevel at a back-dore getting upon his horse, was already fled to St. Antony's Gate, where changing his horse, and mounting another that was ready for that purpose, he made his escape.

11. *The King receiving the news*, as if he had been astonished at an unexpected accident, "Shall I never, saith he, be at "quiet? and must new troubles alwaies arise from day to day? and then throwing his rocket upon the ground, he withdrew into the inner Castle. Guise leaving the Tennis Court, departed another way.

Here all were full of wonder, and many were disturbed, being troubled in their minds to think what those things would come to. Many, even of those who bare no great good will to Coligny, detested the fact. But *Navar and Conde presently repair to him*, and when as in their presence he was handled by the Chirurgions, he was heard amidst all his pain to say (only) this. Is this the goodly reconciliation that the King did undertake for? then turning to Moore, Chaplain to the late Queen of Navar, he pronounced these words, "Ah my Brother, now I know I am beloved of God; for

"for that I have received these wounds for his most holy "Names sake. God grant I may never forget his accustomed "mercies towards me. But when Ambrosius Parœus the King's Chirurgeon told him that the Gangreen growing on, his finger must be cut off, and did attempt to do it with an instrument that had no good edge, though he was forced to open and shut the shears three times, yet he gave no sign of sense of his most sharp pain: when he came to his left arm Merlin Conde's Chaplain came in, who when he began to comfort him out of the holy Scriptures, he brake out into these words; "My God, forsake me not in these troubles, "nor cease from thy accustomed mercies towards me. Then he whispered in the ear to one who held up his arm, that he should deliver to Merlin an hundred Aurei to be distributed to the poor of the Church of Paris: this I have often heard Parœus speak of, almost in the same words.

Thence *Navar and Conde go to the King*; and complain of the indignity of the fact; and since they and theirs could not be secure at Paris, they desire leave to depart. Upon this the King aggravating the matter to the highest, and adding deeper oaths than before, promised that he would take such revenge upon the Assassine, the authors and abetters of this fact, as should satisfy Coligny and his friends, and should be an example to others for the future: that what was done was as great a grief to him as to any, but since what was done could not be undone, he would take the greatest care that might be for a remedy, and would make all men understand that Coligny had the wound, but he had the smart: and that they might be eye-witnesses of this thing, he desires them that they would not depart out of Paris.

And he discoursing thus, Queen Katharine, who was then present, seconded, and saith, "The affront was offered to the "King, not to Coligny; and if this villany should not be "punished, it would ere long come to that pass, that they "would even dare to set upon the King himself in his house: "therefore all means are to be used most sharply to revenge "so great a villany. These words being spoken with much heat, and seeming indignation, the minds of Navar and Conde

now

de were somewhat appeased, who did not believe there was any dissimulation, so that there was not a word more made of their departure out of the City.

Presently *some were sent to pursue the Assasine*, though none as yet knew who he was. All the gates of the City are shut up till search had been made, except two, by which provision was brought in, and even they were kept by a guard appointed by the King. In the mean while the maid and the boy that were taken in Villemur's house, who was then from home, were examined a part by Christopher Thuanus, and Bernardus Prevotius Morsanus, Presidents of the Court, and James Viole a Senator: and the maid confessed that a few daies since Villerius Challius, a servant of the Guises, brought a Souldier to that house, and commended him to her, as if he had been the Master of the house, being a very near friend and familiar acquaintance of his, and that therefore he made use, as long as he was there, of Villemur's Chamber and Bed; but what his name was he did industriously conceal. The boy who had served the Assasine but a few days, said he was sent by his Master, (who dissembled his name, and called himself sometimes Bolland, sometimes Bondol the King's Archer) in the morning to Challius, to desire him from him, that he would have the horses in readiness, which he promised him. From all which discoveries it was yet uncertain who was the Assasine: but when as they both agreed in Challius, it was given in charge to Gaspar Castræus Naucæus, Captain of the King's Guard, that he should seize him, and bring him forth to examination. Then Letters are written to the Governors of the Provinces by the King, in which he detested the fact, and commanded that they should make it their business that all might understand that it did highly grieve him, and that ere long there should be given a most severe example of so great a crime.

In the mean while *d'Anville, Cossaus and Villarius* Marshals, *visiting Coligny* about noon, saluted him in most friendly manner, and *told him* that that they did not come thither to exhort him to patience and fortitude: "For that, say they, "these virtues are as it were natural to thee; thou hast been

" wont to admonish others, and therefore will not be wanting
" to thy self. *He answering* with a smiling countenance, said,
" I speak truly, and from my heart, death doth nothing af-
" fright me. I am ready most willingly to render to God
" that spirit which I have received from him, whensoever he
" shall require it. But I do greatly desire an opportunity to
" confer with the King before I depart this life; for I have
" some things to acquaint him with, which concern both
" him, and the safety and honour of the Kingdom, which I
" am well assured none of you dares carry to him. Then
d'Anville told him he would willingly acquaint the King
with that (his desire); and having so said, he with Villa-
rius and Teligny departed, leaving Cossæus there, to whom
Coligny said, Do you remember what I said to you a few
hours since? be wise, and take heed to your self. What he
meant by these words was not understood by all.

12. But when *the King* knew by d'Anville and Teligny
his desire, he in shew seemed not unwilling to *come to him*
about the afternoon. There came together with him the
Queen-Mother, with the Brethren, Anjou and Alanson, Car-
dinal Borbon, Monpensier, Nevers, Cossæus and Tavanius,
Villarius, Meruvius, Thoreus, Momorancies Brethren, Mar-
shals, Nancæus and Radesianot. These being let in, the rest
are by the King's command shut out, except Teligny and a
Gentleman of the Family, who stood at the Chamber-door;
here it is published in writing, that some secrets were disco-
vered to the King by Coligny, but others deny it, and say that
the discovery of this secret was purposely hindered by the
Queen, lest the King, whose nature she began to distrust, be-
ing mollified, and perswaded by the word of Coligny, should
change his resolution. That which was openly heard was
this, when Coligny gave the King thanks, the King with a
sad and troubled countenance did earnestly enquire of his
state, and did protest, that what had happened to *him* was a
very great grief to him. 'The wound is thine, said he, but
'the pain is mine. But I swear (then according to his man-
'ner he swore) I will so severely revenge this injury, that the
'memory of it shall never be blotted out of the minds of

'men. To this Coligny answered, God is my witness, before whose tribunal I now seem (ready) to stand, that I have been all my life long most loyal and faithful to your Majesty, and I always, and with all my heart, desired that your Kingdom might be most flourishing and peaceable. And yet I am not ignorant that there have been some who have called me Traytor, and Rebel, and a perturber of our Kingdom; but I trust, God will some time or other judg between me & them, before whom I am ready, if it be his pleasure that I should at this time depart out of this life, to give an account of my faith and observance towards you. Moreover, whereas I have been advanced by Henry your Father to many and great honours which your Majesty hath been pleased to confirm to me; I cannot but according to that faith and love that I have for your affairs, desire that you would not let slip so notable an opportunity of an happy enterprize, especially now that the breach is already made, and there are many tokens and pledges of your mind, as to the Belgick Expedition; so as if the matter now begun be relinquished, it will be very dangerous to your Kingdom. Is it not a most unworthy thing that an egg cannot be moved in your Privy Council, but presently almost before it be turned, a messenger runneth and reporteth it to the Duke of *Alva*? Is it not a most base thing that 300 either Gentlemen or gallant soldiers taken in Jenlis his fight, should by the command of Alva either be hanged, or undergo some other kind of punishment? which thing I do yet perceive to be here in the Court a matter of jesting and laughing. A third thing which I did desire to discourse with your Majesty about, is the contempt of the Pacificatory Edict offered by those that are in place of Jurisdiction, who do in most grievous manner daily violate the faith that was given by you; of which faith and oath even foreign Princes are witnesses. But as I have often told your Majesty and the Queen-Mother, I do not think there is any surer way of preserving peace and publick tranquility, than by a religious and severe observance of the Edicts. But they are so contemned, that of late at Troyes there was an assault made upon the servants of the

 'wife

'wife of the Prince of Conde: and when as she, according 'to the form of your Edict, had chosen a certain Village called Insula, in which our Religion should be exercised, yet 'notwithstanding, of late, a certain man, and a nurse, and an 'infant, that was brought to the holy font, were slain upon 'the way whiles they were returning from a Sermon that was 'made in that place. And this happened a little before the '4th. Eid, 6 til. *August 10th.*

To this *the King answered.* 'I esteem thee, my Father, as 'I have often assured thee for a valiant and faithful person, 'and one that is most careful for my honour. Lastly, I look 'upon thee as one of the chiefest and most valiant Commanders of my Kingdom; nor if I had any other opinion of 'thee, would I have done what I have for thee. As for the 'Edict which I lately issued out, I have always wished, and do 'wish that it may be most diligently observed. And to that 'purpose I have taken care that some choice persons should 'be sent through the Provinces, that may make this their business; whom if thou doest suspect, others shall be sent in 'their places; (for in discourse he had said he did suspect them who had condemned him to death, and hanging, and set a price of fifty thousand Aorei upon his head). Then, that he might break off this discourse, he added, 'I see, my 'Father, that you speak earnestly, and that earnestness may 'hurt both you and your wounds. I will take care of this affair, (and again, swearing by the name of God), 'I do assure you that I will most severely revenge this injury upon 'the Authors of it, as if it were offered to my self. Then he, there is not need of any great search for the Author of the fact, nor are the discoveries already made very doubtful. But it is enough, and upon that account, in the most humble manner that I can, I give your Majesty thanks that you are pleased graciously to promise me to do me right.

Then the King taking aside that Gentleman of the household that stood at the dore, commanded him to shew him the bullet wherewith Coligny was wounded, and which was taken out of the wound, that he might look upon it. It was a brazen one: then he enquired of him, first, whether much

blood flowed out of the wound; next, whether Coligny did signify the grievous pains he felt by out-cries and complaints. And having commended his constancy, and the greatness of his mind, he commanded that Gentleman that he should not depart from him.

These things passed for about the space of an hour in the Chamber of Coligny: the King drawing out the time with wandring discourses, and that he might put off the business of the Belgick War, to the mention of which, it is observed that he made no answer. Among these discourses Radesianus spoke to a friend of Coligny's concerning the removing him into the Castle of the Louvre for his greater security, if the people should tumultuate; which thing the King himself did sometime repeat, which almost all did interpret as an argument of the King's care of the health of Coligny. But when the Physicians, and chiefly Francis Mazilles the King's chief Physitian, answered there was danger, if his body should be shaken in the carrying, whiles his wounds were fresh, he would by no means be removed.

After the King departed, *the Nobles of the Protestants party took counsel together*, and John of Ferriers Vidame of Chartres, in the presence of Navar and Conde, conjecturing what was indeed the matter, said that the Tragedy was begun by the wound of Coligny, but would end in the blood of them all. Therefore he thought it most safe, that without delay they should depart the City: he produced testimonies and tokens for his opinion from the rumors that were spread abroad; for it was heard by many, when upon the day of Marriage the Protestants went out of the Church that they might not engage in worship; the Papists said, by way of mirth, that within a few days they should hear Mass. Also it was openly spoken in discourse by the chief of the City, that at that Marriage should be poured out more blood than wine. That one of the Protestant Nobles was advised by the president of the Senate, that he should with all his family betake himself for some days into the Country. Besides these things, the counsel of Johannes Monlucius Bishop of Vadence (when he was going Ambassador into Poland) given

to

to Roch-fou-cault, that he would not suffer himself to be intoxicated, and turned about by the smoke and unwonted favour of the Court, which deservedly ought to be suspected by all wise and cautious persons, that he would not be too secure to run himself into danger, and that he would timely withdraw himself, together with other Nobles, from the Court. But Teligny being of another mind, and saying that he was abundantly satisfied of the sincere love and good will of the King, Ferrerius, and those that thought as he he did, could not be heard.

The next day *the Page* was *again examined*, and new witnesses produced. In this examination Arnold Cavagnes was engaged, for so Coligny did desire, and all things were done in shew, as if there had been a diligent enquiry into the business.

The next day, when as *Coligny, and* by his command *Cornaton* in the name of his fellows (who, he said, knew for certain that the Parisians, that is LXCIↃ deadly enemies of Coligny would tumultuate, and take Arms), *desired* of the King and his Brother Anjou, *a guard* of some Souldiers to be set *to protect the house of Coligny*, that if the people should make any disturbance, they might be restrained by fear of the King's guards, they both of them answered kindly and freely, and it was given in command to Cossenius Colonel of the Regiment of the Guards, that with some choice Bands he should keep watch before the doors of Coligny. To these were joyned, to avoid suspition, some, but few in number, of the Switzers of the guards of Navar. Moreover, for the greater security, it was ordered by the King, that the Gentlemen of the Protestants who were in the City, should lodge near Coligny's house, and it was given in command to Quarter-masters forthwith to assign lodgings; and the King gave command with a loud voice, that all might hear it, to one of the Colonels, that no Catholick should be suffered to come thither, nor should they spare the life of any that should do otherwise. Upon this occasion the Corporals went from place to place, and wrote down the names of Protestants, and advi-

advised them to repair near to Coligny; for that the King would have it so.

These and such like signs and whisperings abroad, though they had been enough to have warned the Protestants, if they had not been infatuated; yet by the constant dissimulation of the King it came to pass, that Coligny and Teligny could not perswade themselves that any such cruelty was in his mind. Therefore when *the Nobles entred into consultation in the Chamber of Cornaton*, in the house of Coligny, upon the same matter, and the Visdame of Chartres persevered in the same opinion, that they should depart the City as soon as might be, and prevent that imminent danger, though with some disadvantage to Coligny's health, who yet was that day somewhat better. Teligny was of opinion, and Navar and Conde agreed with him that they should stay in the City, otherwise they should offer a great affront to the King, that was so well affected towards them.

14. There was a suspition lest this should be caried to the King by one that was then present, that was Buchavanius Bajancurius, one very familiar with the Queen, who presently hasted to the Tuilleries, where *a Counsel was held by the Conspirators* under a colour of walking; there was *the last time* that they consulted of the manner of executing the design. There were present besides, *the King*, *Queen*, and *Anjou*, the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Angolesme*, the Bastard, *Biragus*, *Tavannes* and *Radesianus*. 'And since by the death of one man whom the 'Physitians did affirm was like to recover of his wound, the 'grievance of the Kingdom, which was nourished by him, 'and diffused into many, could not be extinguished, it seemed 'good that it should be suppressed by the ruine of all; and 'that wrath which God would not have to be satisfied with 'the bloud of Coligny alone, should be poured out upon all 'the Sectaries. That was their voluntary resolution at first, 'and now by the event, necessity and force is put upon their 'counsels, that the danger that hangs over the King and the 'whole Kingdom, cannot be avoided without the ruine of 'Coligny and all the Protestants. For what would not he

do

'do so long as the faction of the Rebels remains entire after 'such an injury? who, when he was no way provoked, was 'so long injurious to the King, and hurtful to the Kingdom? 'whom now all might foresee, and dread, going out of Paris 'with his party, as a Lion out of his den, raging against all 'without respect. Therefore the reins are to be let loose to 'the people, who are of themselves ready enough, nor ought 'they any longer to withstand the will of God, which would 'not that more mild Counsels should take effect. After the 'thing is effected, there will not want reasons whereby it may 'be excused, the fault being laid upon the Guisians, which 'they would gladly take upon them.

Therefore all agreed upon the utter ruine of the Protestants by a total slaughter. To which opinion the Queen was, even by her own nature and proper design enclined; some time was spent in deliberating * *whether Navar and Conde should be exempt* from the number of the rest; and as for *Navar*, all their suffrages agreed upon the account of his Royal Dignity, and the Affinity that he had lately contracted. For that fact which of it self could not but be blamed by many, would be so much the more blamed, if a great Prince near of Blood to the King, joyned in a very late affinity, should be slain in the King's Palace, in the arms as it were of the King his Brother-in-law, and in the embraces of his Wife. For there would be no sufficient excuse, nor would those arguments prevail to excuse the King, which might cast the blame upon the Guisians. Concerning *Conde* there was a greater debate, he lying under the load of his Fathers faults: yet both the dignity of the man, and the authority of Ludovicus Gonzaga Duke of Nevers, affirming that he would be loyal and obedient to the King, and also offering himself as a Surety for him, upon the account of that close and manifold relation that was between them; (for Conde had lately married Mary of Cleve the Sister of Henrica Wife of the Duke of Nevers), did prevail that he should be spared, and exempt from the number of those that were designed for the slaughter, as well as Navar.

* *The Duke of Guise was urgent to have the King of Navar and the Prince of Conde slain with the rest. Dav. p. 370. It was also debated whether among the rest they should comprehend the Marshal d'Anville, and his Brothers, who professed the Catholick Religion, but were nearly related to Coligny; but they were spared, because the eldest Brother Marshal Montmorancy was absent. Da. p. 370.*

15. Upon this the Duke of *Anjou and Engolesme* the Bastard depar-

departing, as they rode in their Coach through the City, they *spread abroad a rumor* as if the King had sent for Momorancy and was about to bring him into the City with a select number of horse.

The very same hour there was *one apprehended who was suspected of the hurt of Coligny*, who confessed himself to be a servant of the Guises; which, when it was understood, *Guise and Aumale*, and others of the Family went to the King to remove that suspition; and *complain* that they were oppressed through the favour that was shewed to their enemies: that the ears of Judges were open to calumnies cast upon them, and that tho they were guiltless, yet they were manifestly set against: that they had a long time observed that they were, for what cause they knew not, every day less gracious with the King: but yet that they did dissemble it, and hoped that time, which is the best Master of truth, would at last inform him more certainly of the whole matter. But since they find no place for their innocence, they did, though unwillingly, and as forced to it, *desire* that with his good leave *they might return home*. This was done openly, and it was observed that the King answered to these things somewhat coldly, and the rather, that he might perswade the Protestants that he bare no good will to the Guisians.

Upon this *the King adviseth Navar* that he should afford no occasion of mischief to the audacity and violentness of the Guisians, things being so enflamed, and the people enclining to the Guisian party. That he should command those whom he knew most faithful of his servants to come into the Louvre, to be ready upon any sudden accident; which Navar did, interpreting it in good part, calling those which were most active to lodge with him that night in the Louvre Castle.

Wise men also did *presage some future commotions*, when they observed *armed men* to run up and down about the City and the Louvre, the people to mutter, *threatnings* to be every where heard. This being brought to *Coligny*, he who no way doubted of the good will of the King, but thought it to be the devise of the Guisians to enflame the people, *sends one*

to

to the King, who should in his name acquaint him with it. To whom the King answered, that Coligny need fear nothing: for those things were done by his command, to compose the tumults of the people that were stirred up by the Guisians. Therefore, that his mind might be secure,

It was also told Coligny the very same hour, that *Porters laden with Arms* were seen to be brought into the Louvre: but he contemned the message, and answered, that unnecessary suspitions were sought for in this sad and dismal time, and forbad that this should be made known to Coligny, affecting the unseasonable reputation of prudence and moderation, from his despising of reports, and consequently of dangers: and excusing the matter, as if those Arms were carried into the Louvre upon the account of a Castle represented and assaulted in a shew.

16. Forthwith *Guise*, to whom the chief command of the execution of the whole matter was committed, *calling together* in the deep of night *some Captains* of the Switzers, and the Captains of the French Troops, *explains to them the Kings will and pleasure.* 'That the time was come wherein, 'by the King's command, punishment should be taken upon 'that head that was so hateful both to God and men, and also upon the whole faction of the Rebels: that the beast was 'now in their toils: that they should take care that he escape 'not: that they should not be wanting to such an opportune 'occasion, of obtaining a more glorious triumph than they 'ever yet obtained in all their former Wars, with the blood 'of so many Royallists: that the Victory was easy: that 'rich spoils are proposed, which they might acquire without 'blood, as rewards of their good service.

Upon this *the Switzers are placed about the Louvre*, to whom are joyned the French Troops, and command was given that they should look to it, that no man of the Family of Navar or Conde should go out of the Louvre. The keeping of *Coligny's house was committed to Cossenius*, to whom was given a party of Musquetteers, to lie in the neighbouring houses, that none might escape them.

Matters being so disposed as to the foreign Souldiers, the Duke of *Guise calls to him, John Charron*, President of the Court of Revenues, (who, after a long canvasing, and often repulses, was at last put into that Office in the place of Marcellus Provost of the Merchants), and commands him that he should give notice to the Corporals *to command their Souldiers to their Arms;* but that they should remain at the Town-Hall till midnight, there to understand what was needful to be done.

The same thing was given in *command to Marcellus*, who though he was discharged of his office, yet for some private good offices that he had done, was retained in the Queens favour, and kept his authority, though he lost his dignity. He by often going to the Court, brought himself into an opinion with men, that he was in favour with the King and Queen; and upon that account was acceptable to the people, and from his mouth the people, that were of themselves apt enough to stirs, were certified, 'That it was the King's plea-'sure that they should take Arms to cut off Coligny and the 'other Rebels; that therefore they should see to it that none 'were spared, nor that those wicked men should be any where 'concealed. So the King will have it, so he commands, who 'also will provide that other Cities of the Kingdom do pre-'sently follow the example of the Parisians. *The sign* at 'which they should rise, is the tolling of the bell of the Pa-'lace-clock. *The Mark* whereby they should be distinguished 'from others, is white linen-cloath bound about their left 'arm, and a white cross in their hats. That good store of 'them should therefore be ready with arms and good courage, 'and take care that candles be lighted in their windows 'throughout all their houses: that no stir or tumult arise be-'fore the sign given.

The commands and admonitions of Marcellus are readily received by the Corporals, Colonels, Captains and Wardsmen of the City, who put themselves into a posture with the greatest silence that the sudden state of things would permit; setting their Guards in the streets and passages, but at first within doors. On the other part, the Duke of Guise and Angoulesme

goleſme did what they could that things might be done as they were ordered.

*The Queen fearing leſt the King*, whom ſhe thought ſhe did obſerve ſtill wavering and ſtaggering at the horridneſs of the enterprize, *ſhould change his mind, comes into his Bed chamber at midnight*, whither preſently *Anjou*, *Nevers*, *Biragus*, *Tavannes*, *Radeſianus*, and after them *Guiſe* came by agreement. There they immind the King, hefitating, and after a long diſcourſe had to and fro, upbraided by his Mother, that by his delaying he would let ſlip a fair occaſion offered him by God, of ſubduing his enemies. By which ſpeech * *the King* finding himſelf accuſed of Cowardiſe, and being of himſelf of a fierce nature, and accuſtomed to bloud-ſhed, was inflamed, *and gave command to put the thing in execution.* Therefore *the Queen* laying hold of his preſent heat, leſt by delaying it ſhould ſlack, *commands* that the ſign which was to have been given at break of day ſhould be haſtened, and *that the Bell* of the nearer Church of St. German Auxerrois *ſhould be tolled.*

* *He died in leſs than two years after of a Bloudy-flux, proceeding, as was ſuſpected, from poiſon given him by the procurement of his Mother and Brother Anjou.* v. l. 57.

17. The Souldiers had for ſome time ſtood ready in their Arms drawn up in the ſtreets, expecting the ſign with greedy ears and deſires: by whoſe clattering and unuſual noiſe at ſo unſeaſonable a time, *the Proteſtants* who lodged by the King's command in the neighbouring lodgings, being *awakened*, *went forth*, and repaired toward the Louvre, where the concourſe was, and enquiring of thoſe they met what was the meaning of that concourſe of ſo many armed men, and why ſo many candles were lighted, they, as they were inſtructed (beforehand) anſwered, that there was a certain mock-fight preparing, and that many from all parts did flock together to the fight. But when notwithſtanding they went on further, they are *injuriouſly repelled* by the Guards that ſtood near the Caſtle, then railed upon, and reviled; laſtly, they were beaten; the firſt blow being given by a Gaſcoign, and one of them having received a blow, *the reſt fell upon them.*

Which the * Queen understanding, being impatient of all delay, she thence took occasion to tell the King that the Souldiers could not now be restrained, that he should command the sign from the Palace presently to be given; for it was to be feared, that if it were delayed any longer, all would be in a confusion, and things would fall out otherwise than he desired. Therefore by his command the Bell of St. Germans Church is tolled before break of day ix Kal. VIIbr. which day is the Feast of St. Bartholomew, and fell upon a Sunday. And presently Guise with Engoleſme and † Aumale go to Coligny's house, where Cossenius kept Guard.

Mean time Coligny being awakened, he understood by the noise that they were risen into sedition, yet being secure, and ever sure of the good will of the King, whether through his own credulity, or through the perswasion of his Son-in-law Teligny, he thus thought with himself; that the people were stirred up by the Guisians, but as soon as they should see the King's Guards under the command of Cossenius for the defence of him and his, as he supposed, they would immediately fall off.

But the tumult growing on, when he perceived a Gun discharged in the Court-yard of the house, then at last, but too late, conjecturing what the thing indeed was, he rose from his bed, and putting on his night-gown, he raised himself upon his feet to his Prayers, leaning against the wall. La Bonne kept the keys of the house, who being commanded by Cossenius, in the King's Name, to open the Gate, he suspecting nothing, immediately opened it; strait-way * Cossenius going in, La Bonne meeting him, is stabbed with daggers; which, when the Switzers who were in the Court-yard saw, they fly into the house, and shutting after them the next gate of the house, they barricado it up with Chests, and Tables, and other houshold-stuff, one only of the Switzers being slain in that first conflict by the Cossenians, by a Musquet discharged. At last the Gate being forced open, the Conspirators strive to get up the stairs. They were *Cossenius, Abinius, Corboran, Cardillac, & Sarlaboun*, chief officers of the Companies, *Acbilles, Petrucius*

of

* She lived to procure the extirpation of all her Posterity, and to see the death of all her sons but Anjou, who survived her but few months, being after a furious rebellion against him by Guise and this faction, murdred by a Fryer. August 24th.

† He was slain in March following, before Rochel. l. 55.

* He was slain 18 Apr. following, before Rochel, l. 56.

of Siena, all clad in Coats of Male, and *Besmes* a German, educated from a child in the Family of Guise; for Guise himself, with the rest of the Nobles and others, remained in the Court-yard. In that noise, after Prayers ended by Merlin, the Minister *Coligny*, turning to those who stood about him, who were for the most part Chirurgeons, and a few of his retinue. 'I see, saith he, (with an undaunted countenance), what is doing; I am prepared patiently to undergo 'that death which I never feared, and which I have now long 'since embraced in my mind. Happy am I who shall perceive my self to die, and who shall die in God, by whose Grace 'I am raised to the hope of eternal life. Now I need not 'humane helps any longer. You, my friends, get ye hence 'with all the speed that may be, lest you be involved in my 'calamity, and your Wives hereafter wish evil to me being 'dead, as though I were the cause of your deaths. The presence of God, unto whose goodness I commend this soul 'which shall shortly fly from my body, is abundantly sufficient. Which as soon as he had said, they go into an upper room, and thence through the roof every one his way.

Mean while the Conspirators, breaking open the Chamber-doors, rush in: and when as * *Besmes*, with his sword drawn, asked of Coligny who stood by the door, Art thou Coligny? He, with an undisturbed countenance, answered, I am he: but, young man, reverence my gray hairs; whatsoever thou doest, thou canst not make my life (much) shorter. Whiles he said so, *Besmes thrust his sword into his breast*, and drawing it forth, struck him with a back-blow over the face, whereby he quite disfigured him: then with repeated blows he fell down dead. Some write that these words, shewing his indignation, fell from Coligny as he was dying. If at least I had died by the hand of a man, not of a scullion. But Aenius, one of the Assassines, repeated it so as I have written, and adds, that he never saw man in so present a danger bear death with such constancy.

* *He was killed about two years after, l. 60.*

[*Much otherwise did Guise bear the sense of his less apparent approaching death. For when after his conspiracy and rebellion in*

*in the H. League against the next King, he was with such like arts as had been here used, brought into the snare which the King had laid for him, and having before neglected the warnings of his friends, at last began to be suspitious of his danger, though nothing visible appeared, his vehement fear so prevailed over his dissimulation, whereby he endeavoured to conceal it, that his whole body, though he sate by the fire, shaked and trembled, and, to immind him of this present fact, a stream of blood flowing plentifully from his nostrils; as he called for a napkin, he was fain to call for some Cordials to comfort his spirits: but yet nothing of danger visible, when in the midst of this his fear and languishing, he was by one of the Secretaries, who knew nothing of the design, called into the Kings Privy Chamber, whereupon, having saluted each of the company, as if he took his last farewell of them, going directly thither, he was no sooner entred, but the dore was bolted, and one of those who were appointed for the business, struck a dagger through his throat downward into his breast, whereby his mouth was presently filled with blood, and stopped, that he could not speak, but only fetch so deep a groan as was heard with horror by those who stood by. This stroke was seconded by many others upon his head, breast, belly and groyn. And to this end he came, not at Colinius from his Prayers, but, after all his other wickednes, from his whore, with whom he had indulged the night, and therefore came later than the rest this morning into the Counsel. Thu. l. 93. It was their different lives and actions which made this difference in their deaths; for otherwise Guise was a man of great courage as well as Coliniur.]*

Then Guise asking Besmes out of the Court-yard, whether the thing were done? when he answered, it was done, he could not perswade Angolesme unless he saw it. Therefore Guise replying, and bidding him throw down the body, it was thrown out of the window into the Court-yard, as it was all besmeared with bloud; when * *Angolesme* not believing his own eyes, wiped off the bloud from his face with his handkerchief, and at last perceiving it was he, and as some add, kicking the corps in scorn, going out of the house with his fellows into the way, Go to, fellow Souldiers, saith he, let us prosecute what we have so happily begun; for so the King commandeth:

* *He was afterwards stabbed to death. l. 85.*

mandeth: which words being often repeated, when forthwith *the Bell of the Palace clock rang* out; they every where cryed, Arm, arm, and the people presently ran to Coligny's house; then the carkass after it had been abused in a strange manner, is cast into the next Stable, and at last cutting off his head, (which was sent as far as Rome), and his privy-members, and his hands, and his feet, they dragged it about the streets to the bank of Siene; which thing he had formerly presaged by an ominous word, though he thought no such thing. When he was about to be thrown into the River by the boys, from thence he was drawn to the Gibbet of Mount Faucon, where, with his legs upward, and his body downward, he is hanged in iron-chains: then a fire is made under him, by which he is only scorched, not consumed; that he might as it were be tormented through all the Elements, slain upon the earth, drowned in the water, burnt in the fire, and hanged in the air. There when (his corps) had been expoſed for some days to the luſt and rage of all spectators, and to the just indignation of many, who did boad that that rage would hereafter cost the King and all France dearly, Francis Momorancy, who had timely withdrawn himself from the danger, being near of kin, and nearer by friendship to the dead, took care that he should by some trusty men be taken down by night, and committed to the earth in a Chapel at Chantilly.

In Coligny's house were slain in the tumult whosoever they met, or found hiding themselves; and then the Souldiers betake themselves to plunder, and breaking open Chests, they take away mony, and other precious things, only they preserve letters and papers, for so the Queen commanded.

18. Thence *Nevers*, and *Tavannes*, and *Monpenser*, (who joyned himself to them, through the hatred that he bore to Protestants) *ride armed through the City, and spurred on the people* that ran already, telling them, 'That Coligny and his 'Associates had laid a plot against the King, the Queen, the 'King's Brethren, and Navar himself, and that it was detected 'by the singular Grace of God, and that the King prevented

'them

'them only in time; therefore, that they should not spare the 'bloud of those wicked men, who are the capital enemies of 'the King and Country, but that they should fly upon their 'goods as spoil lawfully gotten; that it was the King's plea-'sure, that that pestiferous serpentine seed should be extirpa-'ted, that the poison of heresy being extinguished, there 'should for the future not so much as a word be spoken of 'any Religion but that of their fore-Fathers.

Then all being let loose to satisfy their hatreds, every one prosecuted his enemy and rival with embittered minds. Many brake into houses through desire of prey; all ran upon the slaughter without distinction. At the same time *Francis Count de la Roche-fou cault*, being for his facetiousness and pleasantness in discourse very gracious with the King, when as but the day before he had, though unseasonably, drawn out the night till late in jesting with the King, and from thence betook himself to his own house, he underwent the same fate with Coligny. For *Bergius Alemus* knocks at Roche-foucault's house, and telling him he had something to acquaint him with from the King; Roche-fou-cault himself commanding the doors to be unlocked, he is admitted in; when he saw men, as he thought, in disguises, supposing the King was not far off, who had sent men in jest to beat him, he beggeth them that they would deal better with him; but miserable man, he found that the thing was not to be acted in jest, but in earnest; when his house being plundered before his eyes, he himself half naked, was most cruelly butchered by one that stood by him.

Also *Teligny* the son-in-law of Coligny having, by running over the tops of houses, escaped the hands of many, and at last being espied by the Guards of Anjou, he is also slain.

*Antonius Clermontius Marquess of Revel*, Brother, by the Mothers side to Prince Porcian, who had a contest with *Ludovicus Clermontius Bussus* of Amboia, concerning the Marquesse of Revel, came to Paris in the company of Navar, hoping there to put an end to his troublesome controversy. But the matter had a quite other end than he expected; for when

in

in that tumult he fled into the house that was next to his, at length he fell into the hands of his Cousin-German, pursuing him, who being his enemy upon no other account but the matter in controversy, cruelly slew him. But not long after the controversy being brought to an hearing, sentence was given for Bussius, but with no more happy success: for by virtue of an Edict afterwards made in favour of the Protestants, the sentence was repealed, and Ludovicus himself was for a far different cause, with the same cruelty beheaded.

*Antonius Marasinus Guerchius* a stout man, who the day before had asked Coligny that he might lodge in his house, when, being in distress, he had not time to hide himself, taking his Cloak upon his arm, and drawing his sword, he for a long time defended himself against the Assassines; yet he slew none of them, being all in Coats of Male, but at last was overpowred by the multitude.

The same calamity involved *Baudineus*, (the Brother of Acierius) *Pluvialius*, *Bernius*, being cruelly slain by the King's Souldiers: as also *Carolus Quelletus* Pontius, President of Armorica, who had married Katharina Parthenea, daughter and heir of John Subizius: but the Mother of Parthenea complaining of the frigidity of her son-in-law, a Suit had been commenced to dissolve the Marriage, but was not yet determined. Therefore, when the bodies of the slain were thrown down as they were slain before the Palace, and in the sight of the King and Queen, and all the Court retinue, many Court-Ladies not being affrighted at the horridness of such a spectacle, did with curious eyes shamefully behold the naked bodies, and especially fixing their eyes on Pontius, did examine if they could by any means discover the signs of his frigidity.

*Carolus Bellomanerius Lavardinus*, the Kinsman of Pontius, and sometime Tutor to the King of Navas in his childhood, fell into the hands of Petrus Lupus President of the Court, a good man, who when he would have saved him, and was commanded by the Emissaries of the Court to dispatch his prisoner; he, as he was a man of a ready and pleasant wit, asked so much time as till he could raise his passion; by which

speech he for some time eluded their cruelty; but by and by a Messenger coming from the Palace as from the King, he was forced to deliver him into the hands of the Guard, who were to carry him before the King; but they in the way first stabbed Lavardinus with daggers, and then threw him over the Mill bridge into the River.

The same fortune, and in the same place, ran *Claudius Gaudimelus*, an excellent Musician in our Age: who set the Psalms of David, as they were put into verse in the Mother-tongue by Clemens Marot, and Theodoret Beza, to divers pleasant tunes, as they are now sung in the publick and private meetings of the Protestants.

*Briolius* a Gentleman who was Tutor to Marquess Conte in his childhood, venerable for his grey-head, being now an old man, was likewise slain in the embraces of his Pupil, who stretched forth his arms, and opposed his own body to the blows.

Truly lamentable was the spectacle of *Franciscus Nompar Caumadius*: who had lodged in that neighbourhood, but which fortune, sporting after her manner, mingled with an event of unexpected joyfulness: he with his two sons, whom he loved with a paternal affection, being taken in bed by the murderers, who prosecuted him with his children, not through an hatred of his Religion, but through hope of gain, was slain with one of his sons: the other being all bloody with the blood that flowed upon him, saving himself from their blows, as he could at that tender age, (for he was hardly twelve years old), by the interposition of the dead bodies, dissembling himself dead, he was at last left by them for dead: a little after, more am flocking to the house for prey, of whom some commended the fact, as well done; (for not only wild beasts, but their whelps are altogether to be destroyed); others that had more humanity, said, this might be lawful to be done upon the Father as guilty, but the innocent off spring, which perhaps would never take the same courses, ought to be spared. Among those that came toward the evening of that day, when as one did highly detest the fact, and said God would be the avenger of such impiety, the boy stretching his

limbs,

limbs, and a little lifting up his head, gave signs that he was alive: and when he asked him who he was, he answered not unadvisedly, that he was the Son and Brother of the slain, not telling his name; concerning which, when he was asked again, he answered that he would tell his name, if he would lead him where he desired: and withal, asked him that he would take care to conduct him to the King's Armory, for he was near of kin to Biron Master of the Ordnance or Artillery: nor should he lose his reward for so great a benefit: which thing he carefully performed. This *James Nompar*, that is his name, with great gratitude rewarded the man brought to him by the Divine Providence, and afterwards married the Daughter of Biron, and is now chief of a Noble Family in Aquitania, Godfry Caumont his Unckle being dead, and leaving only one Daughter. Being raised by the King to great honours, of which he carried himself worthy, as Colonel of the King's Life-guard, and Governour of Bearne, he seems to be preserved from that danger by the singular Grace of God, that he might by his numerous off spring which he had by his Wife, propagate that Family that was reduced to a few, and by his virtue add the highest ornament to the honours of his Ancestors.

The same day were slain these Protestants of great note, *Loverius* thrown out of a window into the high-way, *Montamarius*, *Montalbertus*, *Roboreus*, *Joachinus*, *Vassorius*, *Cunerius*, *Rupius*, *Cobombarius*, *Velavaurius*, *Gervasius*, *Barberius*, *Francurius*, Chancellor to the King of Navar, *Hieronimus Grolotius* Governour of Aurleance, and *Calistus* his base Brother, who were both inhumanely dragged about the streets, and at last cast into the River, by the instigation of those who gaped after his office and goods.

*Stephanus Cevalerius Pruneus*, the King's Treasurer in Poictou, a man of great integrity, and one that was very solicitous for the good of the Common-weal, who had been the principal mover for the building the Stone-bridge of Vienne, laid at Eraldi-castrum, was by certain cut-throats sent by *Stephanus Fergo Petauderius*, (who sought after his Treasurer-ship), after the payment of a great sum of mony, cru-

elly murdered, and thrown into the River, and Patanderius is, by the commendation of Monpenserius, whose affairs he managed, put into his office.

Also *Dionysius Perrotus* the Son of Æmilius, Senator of Paris, (a man not less renowned for his integrity than his knowledge in law), worthy of such a Father, underwent the same fortune.

19. Nor did they spare *those whom Navar* (being advised so to do by the King) *had brought into the Palace:* for they were by the King's command made to come down from their Masters chambers into the Court-yard, and being brought out of the Palace, their swords being taken from them, they were many of them presently slain at the Gate; others were hurried to the slaughter without the Palace. Among these were *Pardallanius*, *Sammartinus*, *Bursius* and *Armanus*, *Claromontius*, *Pilius*, famous for his late valour in defending the Temple of St. John. He, when he was led out to be butchered, standing before the heaps of the slain, is said to cry out, "Is "this the King's faith? Are these his promises? Is this the "peace? But thou, O most great and most good God, behold "the cause of the oppressed, and as a just Judge avenge this "perfidy and cruelty: and putting off his Coat which was very rich, gave it to a certain Gentleman of his acquaintance that stood by: Take this from me as a remembrance of my unworthy death; which gift he not accepting under that condition, whiles Pilius said these things, he was thrust into the side with a spear, of which wound he fell down and died.

*Leiranus* now grievously wounded, but escaping out of the hands of the murderers, rushing into the Queen of of Navars chamber, and hiding himself under her bed, was preserved; and being carefully commended by Margaret to the King's Physitians, was healed. Bellonarius formerly Tutor to the King of Navar, having a long time lien under the Gout, was slain in his bed.

The King received to his grace *Grammontanus* Lord of Gascoign, *Johannes Durferlius Duralius*, *Joachimus Roaldus Gamarius*, and *Buchavarius*, having promised to be faithful to him: and they were worth their word.

Then

Then *the King calls Navar and Conde*, and tells them, that from his youth, for many years, the publick peace had been disturbed by often renewed wars, to the great damage of his affairs; but now, at last, by the grace of God, he had entred into such a course as would extirpate all causes of future wars. That Coligny, the author of these troubles, was slain by his command, and that the same punishment was taken, throughout the City, upon those wicked men who were infected with the poison of superstition: That he remembred what great mischiefs had befallen him from them, Navar and Conde, who had headed a company of profligate persons, and seditiously raised war against him. That he had just reason to revenge these injuries, and now also had an opportunity put into his hand; but that he would pardon what was past upon the account of their consanguinity, and the lately contracted affinity, and lastly of their age: and that he would think that these things were not done by the advice or fault of them, but of Coligny and his followers, who had already, or should shortly receive the just deserts of their wickedness: that he was willing that those things should be buried in oblivion, provided they would make amends for their former offences, by their future loyalty and obedience; and renouncing their profane superstitious Doctrine, would return to the Religion of their Ancestors, that is, to the Roman Catholick Religion: for he would have only that Religion professed in his Kingdom which he had received from his fore-Fathers. Therefore, that they should look to it that they do comply with him herein, otherwise they might know that the same punishment which others had suffered, did hang over their heads.

To this the King of *Navar* did most humbly beg, that no violence might be offered to their consciences nor persons, and that then they would remain faithful to him, and were ready to satisfy him in all things. But *Conde* added, that he could not perswade himself that the King, who had engaged himself by solemn oath to all the Protestant Princes of his Kingdom, would upon any account violate it, or hearken to their enemies and adversaries in that matter. As to Religion, that

that was not to be commanded, that his life and fortunes were in the King's power to do with them what he pleased; but that he knew he was to give an account only to God of that Religion that he had received from God. Therefore that he was fixed and resolved never to recede from his Religion, which he knew assuredly was true, no, not for any present danger of life. With which answer the King being highly provoked, he called Conde stubborn, seditious, Rebel, and the son of a Rebel, and told him, that if he did not change his mind within three days, his head should pay for his obstinacy.

20. Many of the Protestant Nobles had taken up their lodgings in *the Suburbs of St. German*, and could not be perswaded to lie in the City. Among these were *Johannes Roanus Frontenæus*, *Godofridus Caumonlius*, *Vidame of Chartres*, *Gabriel Mongomerius*, *Jo. Lasinius*, *Bellovarius*, *Segurius Pardallanius*, and others. The destroying of whom was given in charge to *Laurentius Maugironus*: and besides Marcells was ordered to take care that 1000 Souldiers of the City Trained-Bands should be sent thither to Maugironus, who went but slowly on in his business.

While this was doing, tidings came to *Mongomery* of the rumor of taking up Arms in the City, who signified the same to the *Vidame of Chartres*, and presently they met all together, uncertain what was to be done; for that many confiding in the King's faithfulness, perswaded themselves that this was done without the King's command, by the Guisians, encouraged by the forwardness of the seditious people, therefore they thought it was best to go to the King, and that he would succour them against any violence.

In that doubtfulness of mind (though the more prudent did not doubt that these things were done by agreement, and by the King's command) were many hours spent, so that they might easily have been destroyed, but that another impediment happened to the Conspirators; for whiles Maugironus doth in vain expect Parisians to be sent from Guise, who were all busied in plundering, Guise impatient of further delays, calls forth the King's Guards out of the Louvre, intending whiles

whiles they passed the River to go thither himself. And when he came to the gates, it did too late appear that they had mistaken the keys, therefore while they sent for others, it being now broad day, the Switzers and others of the King's Guards passing the Scene, were seen from the other side: and upon the discharging of a Gun on the other side of the River, as was thought by the King's command, the Associates take counsel to fly, and before they came, were gotten a good way off. Guise pursued Mongomery and others to Montfort, but in vain, and meeting with *Sanleodegarius*, he commands him that he should follow them with fresh horses. There were some sent to Udencum, and to Dreux, who should intercept them if they went that way: but all in vain.

*Prastitius Bricomatius*, who could not be destroyed in the tumult, flies to the English Ambassadors lodgings, † where he for some days lay hid. *Arnoldus Cavagnius* also hid himself not far from hence, with a friend, who fearing the danger, desired him to provide for himself; but both being taken, were cast into the Palace prison, and with that event which we shall shew anon.

† In Bernardinorum caio.

In the mean time Guise, with Aumale and Angolesme, return into the City, where the King's Guards did commit outrages upon the lives and fortunes of the Protestant Nobles and Gentlemen, even of those that were their familiars, and well known to them. This work being assigned to them in particular, whiles the people incited by the Sheriffs wardsmen and tything-men that ran about, did furiously rage with all manner of licentiousness and excess against their fellow-Citizens, and *a sad and horrid face of things* did every where appear. For the streets and ways did resound with the noise of those that flocked to the slaughter and plunder, and the complaints and doleful out-cries of dying men, and those that were nigh to danger were every where heard. The carkasses of the slain were thrown down from the windows, the Courts & chambers of houses were full of dead men, their dead bodies rolled in dirt were dragged through the streets, blood did flow in such abundance through the chanels of the streets, that full

*streams*

*streams of blood* did run down into the River; the number of the slain, men, women, even those that were great with child, and children also, was innumerable.

*Annas Lemerius Chapius*, being eighty years old, and an Advocate of great name in the Senate, was slain. Also *Fo. Lemerius Secretary* to the King, having compounded for his safety, was thrown into Gaol by *Johannes Parisiensis* Judge of Criminals, and having sold * *his Estate at Versailles* to his adversary, with whom he had a Suit depending about it, at a low rate, and leaving his office upon the account of another, was afterwards slain by the command of those with whom he had those dealings.

* *Versalium fundum.*

*Magdalena Brissonette* the Relict of Theobaldus Longiolius (an Irish-man, Master of the Requests) Neece of Cardinal Gulielmus Brissonetus, and besides a woman of most rare accomplishments, and of no mean learning, when in old apparel, taking with her her daughter Francisca, and Johannes Spina a noted Preacher, who was her houshold Chaplain, she would have fled out of the City, being discovered by the cutthroats, and in vain put to renounce her Religion, being thrust into the body with pike-staves, half dead, she was tumbled from the Key into the River, where swimming about, a company of boats being drawn together, as if it had been to destroy a mad dog, with many gentle blows, she was at length most inhumanely drowned: *Spina* not being known, escaped in the throng, and Cl. Marcellus coming in, they spared her daughter for her ages sake.

*Petrus Ramus*, who was born at Vermand, when he had for a long time taught good learning, Philosophy, so at last Mathematicks, in Prelea Schola, of which he was Master, and afterward in the King's School, he at last brought erroneous doctrine into his Philosophy, vehemently opposing Aristotle both by word and writing. When as there were great disputes between him and *Jacobus Carpentarius, Claromontanus*, as formerly there had been greater with Antonius Goveanus, and Joachimus Periomus; yet herein he was worthy of commendation, that by his wit, diligence, assiduity, and wealth, he did

did what in him lay to promote Learning, instituting a Mathematick Lecture, to which he gave out of his own Estate a yearly stipend of 300 pounds. He being drawn out of his Cell, wherein he had hid himself, by some murderers sent by Carpentar, his Rival, who also promoted the sedition, after he had payed (some) mony, receiving some wounds, was thrown out of a window into the yard, whereby his bowels gushed out; which the boys, set on by the fury of their enraged Masters, threw about the streets, and whipping his carkass with scourges in reproach to his profession, dragged it about in a most shameful and cruel manner. Which thing, when it came to the hearing of *Dionysius Lambinus*, Monstroliensis, King's professor of humanity, and of both Languages, and who, by many books that he had published, deserved well of Learning, and he was otherwise no friend to the Protestant Doctrine, yet was he so affrighted at the example of Ramus, that he could not be comforted, and it made so deep an impression upon his mind, that he fell into a most grievous disease, of which about a month after he died.

From their contentions the name of *Politick* took its beginning, which afterwards became a note of faction, being given by the seditious, by those that favoured the King's party, and the peace of the Kingdom.

21. This fury did extend it self to *those that never professed the Protestant Doctrine.* For *Gulielmus Bertrandus, Villemorius* Master of Requests, (son of Jo. Bertrand Vice-Chancellor, and afterwards Cardinal) a good man, and liberal, and one that was injurious to none, was spoiled of his mony, and then slain by cut-throats sent by the above-mentioned Fergo.

Also *Jacobus Polisardus*, a Senator of Paris, and Fellow of the Sacred Colledge, otherwise an unquiet and quarrelsome man, and one that was troublesome to the Parisian Captains, when he had for some days lien hid in the house of a Priest, his Friend, being discovered by the prattling of a Girl, was at length delivered into the hands of the murderers, and by one *Cruciarius*, (that was his name), a Goldsmith, after he had for some time kept him between hope and fear, had his head cut off. I have often beheld and heard that man that very well

deserved a Gallows, in a strange kind of cruel madness boast, stretching forth his naked arm, that with this arm he had in that massacre slain above 400 men. Afterward, whether induced to it by repentance,, or the terror of his conscience, he put on hair-cloath, and being infamous for so many murders, that he might avoid the sight of men, he went into solitude, professing the life of an Anchoret: where yet he could not forget his cruel nature: for in these late wars he was accused, and almost convicted, that by the help of such men as himself, he had cut the throat of a Flemish Merchant, whose necessity compelled him to repair to his Cell.

† Viel in Mediomatricibus præfectus.

Lastly *Petrus Saisseda* a Spaniard, † who stirred up the Cardinals war, of which we have spoken before, though he was no way enclined to the Protestant Doctrine, was the same day slain by those who sought to revenge a former injury.

[*One* Ronlart *a Catholick, and Canon of Nostre Dame, and also a Counsellor in the Parliament, uttering certain speeches in misliking this lawless kind of proceeding without justice, was apprehended, and committed to prison, and murthered as disorderly as any of the rest, wherewith divers of the Catholicks themselves were offended. This manner of proceeding breedeth general mistrust in them of the Nobility, and every man feareth God's vengeance.* Walsingham, Let. 16. Sept. 1572. In the Compleat Ambassador, p. 246.]

And many of the Nobles *escaped* with great danger, and especially *Thoreus*, who warned Coligny when Cossenius was designed to guard him, that he could not be committed to a more deadly enemy, and that now it was true that the sheep was committed to the woolf. But it was believed that upon the account of the absence of his Brother Momorancy, he and his Brethren *Damville* and *Mermus* were spared. *Cossaus* his life was also in danger, for that he joyned with the Momorancies, and favoured not the Guisians.

*Biromy* in the Armory fearing upon the same account what would become of him, planting two Culverins against the City, fortified himself till the fury of the people and the guards ceased.

Among

Among the Proteſtants that were of any note, there eſcaped by a rare kindneſs of fortune, *Joh. Saucomolius*, *Sauromarius Cugius*, *Bricomolius Junior*, and ſome few others, *Jacobus Cruſſolius Acierius*, by the commendation of his Brother Antony † Duke of Uzes, and command of the Queen, with ſome others of the Nobility, were preſerved by the Guiſians to this intent, as it was reported; that they might caſt the odium of the Maſſacre upon the King and the fury of the people; as though they had no other deſign than to revenge their private injuries upon the head of Coligny, and alſo that they might by ſuch a benefit hold thoſe whom they preſerved ever obliged to them. Nor did their expectations fail them. † Uticenſium ducis.

*Guilielmus Altamarus Fervacius* did endeavour to procure the ſame favour from the King for *Franciſcus Moninius*, but all in vain; but he being diſcovered by his means, ſtrait-way it was given in command to Marcellus to cut him off by the cut-throats. *Three day* were *ſlain* to the number of *two thouſand.*

Toward the evening *Proclamation was made* to the multitude by ſound of Trumpet, that every one ſhould betake himſelf to his own home, nor might any ſtir abroad; that only the King's Guards, and the Officers with their Troops of Horſe, ſhould go about the City upon pain of death to them that did not obey: ſo that when it was thought that there was an end put to thoſe ſlaughters and rapines, the ſame maſſacre and liberty of plundering was continued the night following, and the days following.

22. The ſame day *the King*, whether troubled at the horridneſs, or fearing the odium of the fact, *by Letters* directed to the Governors of the Provinces, *caſteth the odium upon the Guiſians*, telling them 'That the ſedition was raiſed without 'his privity or conſent: that they, as ſoon as they perceived 'that the friends and kindred of Coligny, whom he ſtill cal'led couſin, did intend to revenge the wound given him, that 'they might be before-hand with them, ſtirred up ſo great a 'party of the Nobles and Pariſians, that they, by their help, 'cut off the Guards that he had aſſigned to Coligny, and as 'many of his friends as they met: and this example was fol-

'lowed with such fury and violence throughout the City, 'that such a remedy as might be wished, could not be applied 'in any due time. Now at last the sedition that seemed to 'be allayed, was again upon old grudges between the two 'Families, revived; which thing, since it hapned contrary to 'his will, he would that all should understand that the Edict 'lately published, was not thereby in any part violated: but 'he did command that it should be religiously observed, and 'that the Governors should see to it, that mutual slaughters 'shou'd not be committed in other Cities, nor that they 'should take Arms one against another, but that every one 'should keep home in the City and Countrey, and abstain 'from violence upon pain of death to those that did not obey. In the end of the Letter these words were added; 'Here I am 'with my Brother of Navar, and my Cousin Conde, ready to 'undergo the same fortune with them. The same day were *Letters of the same contents written by the Queen*, sent not only through the Kingdom, but to the Dyet or Assembly of Switzers, and dispersed by the King's command through England, and divers places in Germany.

23. The next day slaughters and rapines were continued. *Petrus Platius* President of the Court of Customs, a man eminent for his gravity, learning and integrity, (whom one Michael by name, Captain of a Band, had the day before cheated of a great sum of Gold) by the help of slingers sent to him by Nic. Bellofremontius Seneschæus, and Carronius Provost of the Merchants, defended himself from the fury of the people. That *Seneschæus* was lately by the King put into the place of Innocentius Triperius Monstrolius, great Provost del' Hospital: under whom that Office, whose jurisdiction belonged only to some mean person of the King's Retinue, after that began to be conferred upon Gentlemen, as all those things which belong to the Master and Colonels of the Horse. He first obtained the name of great Provost, those being much offended at it, who, by how much was added to him in titles did complain that by so much their jurisdiction was diminished. That so large jurisdiction for some time after the death of Monstrolius had ceased, which at last the King con-

conferred upon Seneſcœus, for the Nobleneſs of his Family, and ſuch learning as with us is rare in a military perſon. Therefore Seneſcœus coming this day from the King to Placius, told him that though the King reſolved utterly to root out the Proteſtants by ſlaying them, that there ſhould not remain one that piſſeth againſt the wall, yet that for many reaſons he would give him his life, and ſent him to conduct him to the Louvre, for that he did deſire to learn from him many things concerning the affairs of the Proteſtants, which it behoved him to know. Then Placius deſired to excuſe himſelf, and deſired that he might ſtay till the fury of the people were ſomewhat allayed; that in the mean time he might be kept priſoner whereſoever it pleaſed the King. On the other ſide Seneſcœus, who had received ſuch command from the Queen, did haſten him, that he ſhould without delay obey the King's command, and aſſigned him Petrovius, one of the privy leaders of the Sedition, for his greater ſecurity as he ſaid: by whom he was delivered into the hands of thoſe that lay in wait, and being thrown off his Mule upon which he rode, he was ſtabbed with daggers: his body was dragged, and thrown into the ſtable of a publick houſe; and his houſe lay three days open to ranſacking, his wife being fled, and his children wandring hither and thither. His office, which in his abſence, in the time of *war* was managed by *Stephanus Nullius*, a factious and bloud-thirſty man, and who was believed to have hired theſe cut-throats againſt the life of Placius, was by him obtained of the King.

24. Such cruelty raging every where, while the Heavens ſeemed more than ordinarily ſerene, an accident hapned whereby the minds of the enraged people were after a ſtrange manner inflamed. An Oxyacantha, which is a kind of ſhrub which they call *white-thorn*, growing in the Church-yard of St. Innocents, did, whether of its own accord, which ſometimes happens, when nature failing, that plant is come to that, that it is about to dry up; or whether by warm water poured upon it by impoſtors, did in an unuſual time *put forth its flowrs*. All which, the factions flattering themſelves in their madneſs, did refer to God, ſignifying by theſe tokens, ſtrange that

that what they had done was acceptable to him. And therefore they said, that the Heavens did rejoyce to see the Massacre of the Protestants. And James Carpenter alluding to the Month, in a writing that he published, called that light *Augusta*. Therefore the seditious flocking together at the fame of the blossoming thorn, did skip about with great joy: which they also testified by the unusual beating of a Drum, though without command, (for even that they might do then) and so interpreted it, as if the Protestants being rooted out, the Catholick Religion, and the Kingdom of France should recover its ancient splendor and flower. But the Protestants argued otherwise; and if this were to be looked upon as a Miracle, they said this was portended by this sign; that though the Church might seem by this wound to be utterly extinct, yet it should come to pass that it should in a wonderful and incomprehensible manner revive and flourish; which also they did confirm by the example of the wonder shewed to Moses in the bush, which, though it burned, yet was it not consumed. They added, that it might be said rather to belong to the commendation of innocence, than the approbation of butchery, because the thorn blossomed in a place which took its name from Innocents.

The same day some drawn out of the King's Life-Guard by Gaspar Castreus Nanceus, one by the King's command sent to † Chastillon, to take and bring *Coligny's wife and children*, as also the sons of Andoletus. But Franciscus the Eldest Son of Coligny, and Vidus Lavallus the Eldest Son of Andoletus, had already saved themselves by flight. All the rest are taken, and brought with all their precious houshold-stuff to Paris.

† Castillionem ad Lupam.

25. It was *the King's design*, that as soon as the slaughter of Coligny and his followers had been performed, the Guises should immediately depart the City, and go every one to his own house, that thereby all might take notice, that whatsoever had been done at Paris proceeded from their faction. But the Queen and Anjou especially (who did both of them with an over-weening affection incline to the party of Guise) did intercede: (seeing) the King was at first enraged only against

against Coligny, as not yet forgetting his flight from Meaux, drew him on, who yet wavered, to the slaughter of all the Protestants in the City; for that not knowing where he set his foot, they brought him by degrees to this pass, that he should take the whole blame upon himself, and so ease the Guisians, who were not able to bear such a burden. And to that end Anjou did, as it is was said, produce Letters found in Teligny's desk, written by the hand of Momorancy, in which, after the wound given to Coligny, he did affirm that he would revenge this injury upon the Authors of it, who were not unknown with the same mind as if it had been offered to himself.

Thereupon the Queen and Anjou took occasion to shew the King, 'That if he persisted in his former dissimulation, 'things were come to that pass, that he would endanger the 'security of the Kingdom, his Fortunes, Riches, and Repu'tation. For the Guisians, who do by these Letters, and 'otherwise, understand the mind of the Momorancies, being 'men desirous of troubles, and seeking grounds of them up'on every occasion, will never lay down their Arms which 'they have by the King's command taken up, to offer this in'jury: that they will still keep them under pretence of de'fending their safety, which they say is aimed at by the enemy; 'and so that which was thought to have been the end of a 'most bloudy war, will prove to be the beginning of a more 'dangerous one. For the remainders of the Protestants, 'who see their matters distressed, will, without doubt, ga'ther themselves to the Momorancies, who are of themselves 'strong, and thence will take new strength and spirits: which 'if it should happen, what a face of the Kingdom will ap'pear, when the name and authority of the King's Majesty 'being slighted and trampled upon, every one shall take liberty 'to himself, and indulge to private hatred and affections accor'ding to his own lust? Lastly, what will foreign Princes think 'of the King, who suffers himself to be over-ruled by his 'subjects, who cannot keep his subjects in their duty, and 'lastly, who knows not how to hold the reins of legal power?

'There-

'Therefore there is no other way to prevent so great an evil, 'but for the King to approve by his publick Proclamation, of 'what was done, as if it had been done by his command. 'For by this means he should take the abatement and power 'to himself; and on the one hand disarm the Guises, and on 'the other hand keep the Momorancies from taking up Arms; 'and lastly should bring it about, that the Protestant affairs 'now already very low, should be separated from the cause of 'the Momorancies. That the King ought not to fear the 'odium of the thing; for there is not so much danger in the 'horridness of a fact, (the odium whereof may be somewhat 'allayed by excuse), as in the confession of weakness and im-'potency, which doth necessarily bring along with it con-'tempt, which is almost destructive to Princes.

By these reasons they easily perswaded an imperious Prince, who less feared hatred than contempt, that he might recall the Guisians to obedience, and retain the Momorancies in their loyalty, to confirm by publick testimony, that whatsoever had been done, was done by his will and command. Therefore in the morning, viz. upon the Tuesday, he *came into the Senate* with his Brethren, the King of Navar, and a great retinue of Nobles, after they had heard Mass with great solemnity, and sitting down in the Chair of State, all the orders of the Court being called together, 'He complained of the grievous 'injuries that he had from a child received from Gaspar Co-'ligny, and wicked men falsly pretending the name of Re-'ligion: but that he had forgiven them by Edicts made for 'the publick Peace. That Coligny, that he might leave no-'thing to be added to his wickedness, had entred into a con-'spiracy how to take away him, his mother, his brethren, and 'the King of Navar himself, though of his own Religion, 'that he might make young Conde King, whom he deter-'mined afterwards to slay likewise, that the Royal Family 'being extinct, he usurping the Kingdom, might make him-'self King. That he, when it could not otherwise be, did, 'though full sore against his will, extinguish one mischief by 'another, and as in extream dangers, did use extream reme-

'dies,

'dies, that he might extirpate that impure contagion out of 'the bowels of the Kingdom. Therefore, that all should 'take notice, that whatsoever had been that day done by way 'of punishment upon those persons, had been done by his 'special command.

After he had said these things, *Christophorus Thuanus*, chief President, in a speech fitted to the time, commended the King's prudence, who, by dissembling so many injuries, had timely prevented the wicked conspiracy, and the danger that was threatned by it, and that that being suppressed, he had now setled peace in the Kingdom, having well learnt that saying of Lewis XI. He that knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to reign.

Then the Court was commanded that diligent enquiry should be made concerning the conspiracy of Coligny and his Associates, and that they should give sentence according to form of Law, as the heinousness of the fact did require. Then lastly *Vidus Faber Pibracius*, Advocate of the Treasury (or Attorney-General) stood up, and asked the King whether he did will and command that this declaration should be entred into the acts of the Court, to the preservation of the memory of it? whether the orders of Judges and Civil Magistrates, which he had complained were corrupted, should be reformed? And lastly, whether by his command there should be an end put to the slaughters and rapines? To these things the King answered, that he did command the first; that he would take care about the second, and that for the third he did give command by publick proclamation through all the streets of the City, that they should for the future abstain from all slaughters and rapines. Which declaration of the King astonished many, and among the rest *Thuanus* himself, who was a man of a merciful nature, and altogether averse from bloud, and feared that example, and the danger that was threatned thereby: who also did with great freedom privately reprove the King, for that, if the conspiracy of Coligny and his company had been true, he did not rather proceed against them by Law. This is most certain, he did al-

ways deteſt St. Bartholomews-day, uſing thoſe verſes of Statius Papinius in a different caſe,

*Excidat illa dies ævo, nec poſtera credant*
*Sæcula, nos certe taceamus, & obruta multa*
*Nocte, tegi propria patiamur crimina Gentis.*

So that he ſeems to have commended the King's act by a ſpeech fitted to the preſent time and place, rather than from his heart.

The adviſing of the King to enquire into this conſpiracy, is thought to have been from *James Morvillerius* Biſhop of Orleans, who had left his Biſhoprick to give himſelf wholly to the Court: a man of a cautious nature, but moderate and juſt, and who was never the author of that bloudy counſel. But when as that which was done could not be undone, he thought it was beſt for the reputation of the King, and for the publick Peace, that ſince the odium of it could not be wholly aboliſhed, yet that it might by ſome means be mitigated, he perſwaded the King and Queen, that to the things being now done, they ſhould, though in a prepoſterous manner, apply the authority of Law; and that proof being made of the conſpiracy, judgment ſhould be paſſed upon the conſpirators in form of Law; which thing Thuanus himſelf approved, being conſulted about it by Morvillerius upon the King's command.

Two days after *a Jubilee* is appointed, and Prayers are made by the King, and a full Court in a great aſſembly of people, and thanks were returned to God, for that things had ſucceeded ſo happily, and according to their deſires. And the ſame day *an Edict was publiſhed*, wherein the King declared, that 'Whatſoever had happened in this matter was done by 'his expreſs command; not through hatred of (their) Reli-'gion, or that it ſhould derogate from the Edicts of Pacifi-'cation, which he would have to ſtand ſtill in force, and to 'be religiouſly obſerved, but that he might prevent the wicked 'conſpiracy of Coligny and his confederates. Therefore,

that

'that he did will and command that all Protestants should 'live at home quietly and securely under his protection and 'patronage, and did command all his Governors to take di-'ligent care that no violence or injury should be offered to 'them, either in their lives, goods or fortunes; adding a san-'ction, that whosoever did otherwise, should understand that he did it under pain of life. To these things a clause was finally added, which the Protestants did interpret to contradict what he had said before; that, 'Whereas upon the ac-'count of their meetings, and publick Assemblies, great trou-'bles and grievous offences had been stirred up, they should 'for the future abstain from such meetings, whether publick 'or private, upon what pretence soever, till further order was 'taken by the King, upon pain of life and fortunes to those 'that disobeyed.

26. These Edicts and Mandates were diversly entertained *in the Provinces*, according to the divers natures and factions of the Governors; for those that were addicted to the party of the Momorancies, made a moderate use of them, but great was the rage and fury of others to whom secret commands were brought, not in writing, but by Emissaries, following the example of the Parisian Massacre.

The beginning was *at Meaux*, as being nearest, where the same day that the Massacre had been at Paris, above two hundred were thrown into prison by *Cossetus* Advocate of the Treasury, an impudent man, who was chiefly assisted by *Dionysius Rollandus* an Apparitor, and *Columbus* a Mariner. The next day they set upon the Market that is out of the City, and the men being slipt away, they fell upon the women, whereof 25 were slain, and some of them violated by the rude murderers. The day following, after they had every where rifled the houses of the suspected, they come to those that were imprisoned, who being called out one by one by Cossetus himself, were there slain as Oxen, by Butchers, in a Slaughter-house, and thrown into the Castle-ditch, and the greatest part of them (the cut-throats being wearied) were drowned in the River Marne. And then Cossetus exhorts the neighbouring places that they should proceed in what had been so hap-

pily begun. But the presence of Momorancy President of l'Isle la France, who was then at Cantilia, not far from thence, did hinder the seditious from stirring at Senlis.

But great was the rage at *Orleans*, which being once or twice taken by the Protestants, the sad ruines of the demolished Churches lying open to the eyes of all, did enkindle the minds of the people to revenge their injuries, being yet fresh: the day following therefore they began upon *Campellus Bovillus*, one of the King's Counsellors, whom being ignorant of what had happened at Paris, Curtius a Weaver, the leader of the seditious, with some of his party, went as it were to visit in the evening; he thinking that they came as friends to sup with him, entertained them as at a feast, which (entertainment) the murderers having received, they acquaint him with what was done at Paris, and withal demand his Purse, which being delivered, they in the midst of their entertainment slay their *Host*. From thence, as if this had been the sign given, they flock together for three days to murder and spoil; above 1000 men, women and children, as it was thought, were slain; part were cast into the river Loire: those that were slain without the City were thrown into the ditch. Great was the plunder that was taken in all that time, and especially the copious Library of *Peter Montaureus* (a learned man, who died four years since of grief of mind, at Sancerre) furnished with Books of all sorts, especially with mathematical Manuscripts, the greatest part of them Greek, and corrected and illustrated by the labours of Montaureus himself, as also with instruments useful in that Science, contrived with admirable artifice, was with a most barbarous outrage taken away.

Also some were slain at *Gergalium*, the people raging through the neighbouring Cities, Towns and Villages, after the manner of the Inhabitants of Orleance.

The same was done at *Angiers*, they beginning with *Johannes Masonius Riverius*, who was most barbarously slain as he walked in his Garden, by a cut-throat let in by his Wife, who suspected no such thing: as also others. *Barbeau* Ensign of the Prince of Conde's Regiment escaped the danger by flight,

as

as also Renatus Roboreus Bressaldus, one that was very troublesome to Priests, many of whom he had unworthily maimed, was afterwards executed.

The Townsmen of *Troyes*, of whom Coligny had a little before complained to the King, when they heard of the tumult at Paris, presently set guards at the City-gates, that none might slip forth: and having upon 3 Kal. VIIbris, cast all the suspected into prison five days after, by the command of *Anna Valdreus Simphalius*, Governor of Troyes, upon the instigation of *Petrus Bellinus* (who, as was believed, came lately from Paris with private commands) they were brought out one by one, and slaughtered by the cut-throats, and buried in a ditch digged in the very prison: and presently after, the King's Proclamation, wherein they were commanded to leave of killing and spoiling, was published by Simphalius, who, as it is said, received it before the slaughter was committed. August 30th.

At *Vierzon*, when as at the yet uncertain report of the news, the Gates of the City were shut up by the diversity of Letters that were sent in the King's Name, the Townsmen held their hands for some time from violence, contenting themselves to have cast the suspected into prison, till at last stirred up by the example of the men of Orleance, they raged with the same madness against the imprisoned. *Franciscus Hottomannus*, and *Hugo Donellus*, who professed Civil Law in that City, by the help of their Scholars, and especially of the Germans, escaped the present danger.

Two days after the uproar at Paris, the Regiment of Horse that belonged to Ludovicus Gonzaga, under pretence of muster, and receiving their pay, seized on *la Charite*, a Town lying upon the River Loire, below Nevers, and the people being stirred up by Letters from Paris, 18 were slain in the Town; *Petrus Mebelius*, and *Johannes Lerius*, well known by his voyage into America, did beyond their hopes escape the hands of the murderers, and fled to Sancerra.

27. The greatest Massacre of all was at *Lions*, for in that City, as it is very populous, the Gates being presently shut, many are taken and cast into prison, by the command of *Franciscus*,

cisus Mandelotus, Governor of the Town, under pretence, as he said, that the King's Guards might protect them from the rage of the people: but many while they are lead by the seditious, as if it had been to prison, are slain in the blind lanes of the Town, and presently cast into the Rivers la Saone and Rhone. The ring-leader and chief promoter of this was one *Boisonne*, a wicked debauched fellow, who afterward came to his deserved end, being executed at Claremont in Auvergne. Three days were spent in rifling houses, and finding out those that were suspected: which being done on Friday 4 Kalends of VII br. *Dupersent* (a Citizen of Lions, but lately advanced to the order of Knighthood: the honour of this order for many years being decayed, since it began to be bestowed upon unworthy persons,) came from the Queen with Instructions and letters of credence, bringing also letters from Claudius Rubius, and other City Officers, men of like manners, who managed the affairs of Lions at Paris, and in the Court; in which (letters) is declared what was done at Paris, and withal it was added, that the King did will and require that the men of Lions should follow the example of the Parisians. Mandelotus, a prudent man, though he was looked upon as enclined to the Guisian faction, abhorred the barbarousness of the thing, and obtaining of the urgent multitude some days truce, till he had deliberated upon the matter, and till letters came from the King, which he said he daily expected; in the mean time he made open Proclamation, that the Protestants should repair to the Major's house to hear from him what was the King's pleasure. They poor wretches coming out of their hiding places, as if they had been received into the King's protection, came to him, and by his command were committed to several prisons; for the King's prisons upon the River Rhone were not able to receive such a multitude. Upon this, *Petrus Antissiodorensis* Chamberlain of the City, a man wicked and infamous for dishonest lusts, rode post, and without letters, as if the dignity of the man had carried authority enough with him, affirms to Mandelotus, that this was the Kings and Queens will and pleasure, that the Protestants that were taken, or could be taken, should be slain

August 29th. Conchiliatorum equitum torque donatus.

Rodanenses Regii.

slain, without expecting any further command. Therefore Mandelotus being overcome by the importunity of the multitude that stood round about him, to whom Antistiodorensis had told the secret, yieldeth, and turning to the messenger of so horrid a sentence, I will, saith he, say to thee Peter, what Christ heretofore said to Peter; whatsoever thou bindest, let it be bound; and whatsoever thou loosest, let it be loosed; and presently all ran to the slaughter and spoil, *Morvillius* and *Clavius*, wicked men, and ready for any mischief, joyned themselves to Boidomus. When they would have had the help of *the Common Hangman* in that matter, he refused, and said that he was ready to obey the sentence of a lawful Magistrate, but he would not meddle nor trouble himself with such promiscuous executions: when the same thing was commanded, *the guards* of the Castle, they likewise being much moved at the motion, answered with disdain, that they were no Hangmen, nor did such dishonourable employment become Souldiers: those miserable men never injured them: therefore they hired men from the Shambles, and shameless persons out of the dregs of the people; [but neither would they do it;] at length all these detesting the fact, they came to the City Train-Bands, which consisted of 300 Townsmen, who did readily undertake against their own fellow-Citizens, what hangmen and strangers had absolutely refused. Out of these Bands therefore are chosen all the veriest rake-hells, and they leading on, they ran violently to the house of the Franciscans, (this was done upon the following Lord's-day) where part of the Protestants were kept, and then to the house of the Celestines, where a great slaughter was made: whiles Mandelotus, with *Sallustius Monta* Governor of the Castle, ran with all speed to the tumult raised by the people in the suburbs next the River Rhone, they make an assault upon the Arch-Bishop's house, where 300 chief Protestants were, by the Governor's order kept in prison: and first carefully examining their purses, they most barbarously slew them, praying unto God, and imploring the faith of men. A miserable sad sight! while the Sons hanging about the necks of their Fathers, and Fathers embracing their Sons, Brethren, Friends, exhorting one

Supplices & Dei hominumq; fidem implorantes.

one another to constancy, they were slain like sheep by merciless Butchers, Porters, Water-men, among the sad lamentations and horrid cries that did resound all over the City. Which thing Mandelotus in all haste returning from Guilloteria, but yet after the thing was done, seemed to be much troubled at, as if it had been done without his consent or privity; and coming to the place of the Massacre, taking the King's Officer along with him, that he might enquire into the matter in a legal way, and proofs being taken by a publick Notary, in a ridiculous dissimulation, he commanded Proclamation to be made, that those that knew who were the Authors of this outrage, should tell their names, an hundred Crowns being proposed to the informer and discoverer for his reward. In the evening the same Butchers went to the publick prison, upon Rhone, and raged against the prisoners with a new sort of cruelty; and miserably tormented them with halters put about their necks, and dragged them half dead into the River that was near. The night following is spent in slaughters and plundering; houshold-stuff is carried out of houses, and wares out of shops: those that hid themselves are by spies brought out of their hiding places, and many thrown into the River. Mandelotus being offended at the horror of the sight of the bodies of the slain lying in the Court of the Arch-Bishop's house, commanded them to be put into boats, and carried to the other side of the River, that they might be buried in the Church-yard of the Monastery of Aisnay, where was formerly the Altar of Lions, and sent men thither to see them buried. But the Monks said they would never suffer that, and that those carkasses were unworthy of burial. Therefore, upon a sign given, there is a concourse made, and they are thrown by the enraged people into the River; the grosser bodies being given to the Apothecaries, upon their desire, for their fat, as is reported by those who wrote whiles things were fresh. Nor did the slaughter stay here. For not long after the (two) Brothers, *Darinii*, Merchants of great account, *Labessaus*, *Galterus*, and *Floccardus*, honourable Citizens, being brought out of the prison, had their throats cut, and were cast into the River Rhone.

Among

Among these slaughters some escaped by the help of the guards, and the favour of Manta the Governor, among whom were *Jo. Ritaldus*, and *Antonius Collia*, Pastors of the City, when as *Joannes Anglus*, chief Pastor, was slain in the first tumult. It is said that 800 of all kinds and sexes were barbarously slain: the carkasses of the slain swimming down Rhone to Turnonium, lay so thick about the banks, that the Townsmen affrighted at the accident, cried Arm, Arm, as if the enemy had been coming upon them: by and by being amazed with horror, and detesting the authors of such a villany, though they had no favour for the Religion of the Protestants, to remove that sad spectacle, they set men to thrust the bodies off with poles from the banks, which the swift stream brought down. So horrid a spectacle they also detested at Vienne, at Valence, at Burgh, at Viviers, at the Temple of the Spirit, yea, at Avenion, where there is great hatred of the Protestants. But at Arles, when through want of wells and springs they drink of the water of the River; the Townsmen, besides the detestableness of the villany, were grievously distressed; when as they would not use the fishes and water that they could be supplied with only from Rhone; yet they abhorred the very sight of the River.

28. But in Dauphine and *Provence* things were carried after far another manner. For *Claudius Sabaudus Count of Tende*, who was very nearly allied to the Monmorancies, when Letters were brought him about the same business by *Josephus Bonifacius Mola*, who two years after came to an † unhappy end at Paris, ingenuously answered that he did not think that that was the King's pleasure, but that some that were evilly affected to the publick Peace, did falsly pretend his name, when as not many days since he had received quite other commands: that therefore he would rather obey the former, as more worthy of the King's Faith and Clemency. But he not long after being at Avignon, died of a sudden disease, to the great grief of the people of Provence, not without suspition given him by the Emissaries of the seditious.

† *Being executed, and his quarters set upon the City-gates.*

In *Dauphine*, *Bertrandus Simianus Gordius*, educated in the Family of the Monmorancies, receiving the same command,

he excused himself, pretending the great danger he was like to be in from the powerfulness of Montbranius, and other Protestants in * Savoy and Dauphine, yet some were slain at *Valence*.

* In allobrogibus.

Also at *Romans* there were some slain, though it were late first, viz. 10 Kal. VIII br. where, when many of that great number that was cast into the prison, for fear of death returned to the Religion of their Ancestors, only seven were stabbed with daggers by the raging people.

Septembr. 22.

Also *Senseramus* Governor of *Auvergne*, who also was well affected to the Montmorancies, used the same moderation, and made the same answer to those that came posting to him from Court, that the Count of Tende had done before him, adding to this moreover, that he would never obey such commands, unless the King in person did command him.

Greater was the fury that did rage at *Tholouse*: for news of what had been done at Paris being brought prid. Kal. VII br. which was the Lord's-day, upon which the Protestants went out of the City to Castanetum to Sermon, straitway the Gates were shut up, and care was taken that no one should go out, but that whosoever would might come in. But many of those that had gone out would not return into the City, but went thence to † le Puy, St. Laurence, Montauban, * Regimont, and some one way, some another. Two days after, by authority of the Senate, publick Proclamation was made, that no violence or molestation should be offered to the Protestants. The day following, Guards being set at the Gates of the City, and in the Streets, those that were suspected are some of them distributed into Monasteries, others are cast into the common prisons; some days after, upon the coming from Court of *Delpechius* and *Madronius*, rich Merchants, and most bitter enemies to the Protestants, they were all thrown into the Palace prison, where presently in the night, by certain cut-throats chosen out of the Students of the Civil Law, that went to the Fencing-School, (among whom one *Taurus* was most eminent), together with other men of lewd life and conversation, 200 were barbarously slain, and among them some Senators, and in the first place

Augusti. 31.

† Podium Laurentii.

* Regium montem.

*Johan-*

*Johannes Corafius*: who afterwards, to double their cruelty, were hanged in their Senatorian habits, upon an Elm growing in the Palace-yard: the bodies of the dead were buried in a ditch made in the Arch-Biſhop's houſe.

At the ſame time, but with greater ſlaughter, were things carried at *Rouen*, where *Tanaquilius Venator Carrugius*, the Governor of the chief Nobility of Provence, a man of a merciful diſpoſition, did what he could to hinder it. But at laſt, not being able any longer to withſtand the violence of the ſeditious, (and eſpecially of thoſe who, the year before, were, by the decree of the Judges, delegated from Paris, proſcribed, who hoped that, by this courſe, they ſhould both revenge the injury offered them, and alſo obliterate the memory of the Decree), many were thrown into priſon, and afterwards 15 Kal. of VIII br. being called out one by one by the voice of the Cryer, were cruelly ſlain by thoſe Emiſſaries, *Maronimus* a moſt wicked wretch leading them on. Upon this they ſet upon private houſes, and that day and the day following they fell upon men & women, without diſtinction, and 500 of both ſexes and all ages were ſlain, and their bodies being ſtripped, were caſt into the ditches ad Portam Caletenſem, and their garments all bloudy as they were, were diſtributed among the poor, they ſeeking even by theſe murders to ingratiate themſelves with the people. This the Senate was in ſhew offended at, and began to proceed againſt the Authors of this fact: but through connivance it came to nothing, the murderers and cut-throats for a time ſlipping out of the City. Septemb. 17.

This example raged through *other Cities*, and from Cities to *Towns and Villages*; and it is reported by many, that † more than thirty thouſand were *ſlain* in thoſe tumults throughout the Kingdom, by ſeveral ways; though I believe the number was ſomewhat leſs.

† *It was Credibly reported that there were ſlain above 40000 Hugonots in a few days*, ſaith Davila, p. 376.

[*In September*, Caſtres, *a City in la Paix Albigeois, which was held by the Proteſtants, when after great promiſes by the King for their ſafety, it was delivered into the hands of Creuſeta one of the principal of the neighbouring Gentry, it was by him cruelly plundered, and laid waſte.*

[ *In the beginning of* October *happened the Massacre at* Burdeaux. *The Author and chief Promoter of it is reported to have been one* Enimundus Augerius, *of the Society at* Claremont, *who also is said to have perswaded* Franciscus Baula, *a very rich Senator of* Burdeaux *that he should leave his wife; and being supported by his wealth, he had founded a rich School in that City: He, when as he did in his Sermons daily inflame his Auditors, that after the example of the Parisians they should dare to do something worthy of their piety: so especially upon S. Michael's day, when he treated of the Angels, the ministers of the grace and vengeance of God, what things had been done at Paris, Orleance, and other places, he did again and again, by often repeated Speeches, inculcate, to have been done by the Angel of God; and did both openly and privately upbraid* Romanus Mulus *the King's Solicitor, and* Carolus Monserrandus *Governor of the City men of his faction, as dull and cold in this business, who contented themselves to have interdicted the Protestants the liberty of meeting together, and to have kept the Gates of the City with guards; but otherwise they wholly abstained from violence and slaughters, being admonished so to do, as is believed by* Stoxzius, *who had a design upon Rochel, & who did fear, lest that should hinder his attempts. But when as about that time* Monpesatus *came to* Blaye, *as though the sign for effusion of blood had been given by his coming, certain men were slain in that Town. But when he arrived at Burdeaux, the people began to rage, and the seditious to run up and down.* Enimundus *thundered in his Preaching more than ever: at last, after some days private discourse of* Monpesatus *with* Monserrandus, *though it be uncertain whether he did discourage or perswade the thing, when* Monpesatus *was departed, (who) a little while after died of a Bloudy Flux.*

Octobr. 3. *V Non. VIII br. which fell upon a Friday, the Magistrates of the City, with their Officers, as they were sent, came after dinner to the house of* Monserrandus, *bringing with them lewd & impudently wicked men, who were drawn together by* Petrus Lestonacus, *and receiving the word of command from him, they ran through the City to the slaughter, being distinguished by their red Caps, a sign very agreeable to their bloudy design. They began with* Joannes Guillochius, and Gul. Sevinus, *Senators, who were both cruelly murdered*

*murdered in their houses, which were presently rifled. Also* Buchcrus *the Senator, who had redeemed his life of Monferrandus for a great sum of mony, did hardly escape the danger, whose house was also plundered. Then promiscuous slaughters and rapines are committed for three days together throughout the City, wherein* two hundred sixty four *men are said to be slain, and the Massacre had been much greater, had not the Castle of Buccina and the other Castle of the City yielded an opportune place of refuge to many.* Jacobus Benedictus Longobastonus *President of the Court was in great danger of death, and was hardly preserved by the help of his friends.*]

29. Nor were they in the mean time in quiet at Paris and at Court, where, by the Queens special command, and the diligence of Morvillerius, *Coligny's Cabinet* was *examined*, if by any means they might find any thing in them which, being published, might take off the odium of so bloudy a fact either in the Kingdom or with foreign Princes. Among those Commentaries which he did every day diligently write, which were afterwards destroyed by the Queens command, there was a passage in which he advised the King that he should be sparing in assigning the hereditary portion, which they call Appennage, to his Brethren, and in giving them authority, which having read, and acquainting Alanson with it, whom she had perceived to favour Coligny; This is your beloved cordial friend, saith the Queen, who thus advised the King. To whom Alanson answered, 'How much he loved 'me, I know not; but this advice could proceed from none 'but one that was faithful to the King, and careful for his 'affairs.

Again, there was among his papers found a breviate, wherein, among other reasons that he gave for the necessity of a War with the Spaniards in the Low-Countreys, this was added, as being omitted in the Speech which he made to the King, lest it should be divulged, and therefore was to be secretly communicated to the King, that if the King did not accept of the condition that the Low-Countreys offered, he should † not transfer it to his neighbours of England, who, though they were now, as things stood, friends to the King, if once

† V. Walsingham's Letter 14 Septemb. 1572. in the Compleat Ambassador, p. 241.

once they set footing in the Low-Countreys and the Provinces bordering upon the Kingdom, would resume their former minds, and being invited by that conveniency, of friends would become the worst enemies to the King and Kingdom. Which being likewise imparted to Walsingham, Queen Elizabeths Ambassador, and the Queen telling him, that by that he might judge how well Coligny was affected towards the Queen his Mistress, who so much loved him. He made her almost the same answer, and said, 'He did not know how 'he was affected towards the Queen his Mistress; but this he 'knew, that that counsel did savour of one that was faithful 'to the King, and most studious of the honour of France, and 'in whose death both the King and all France had a great 'loss. So both of them, by almost the same answer, frustrated her womanish policy, not without shame unto her self.

About the end of the month wherein Coligny was slain, *the King* fearing lest the Protestants should grow desperate in other Provinces, *writes to the Governors with* most ample commands, and principally to *Feliomrus Chabolius* President of Burgundy, in which he commanded that he should go through the Cities and Towns that were under his jurisdiction, and friendly convene the Protestants, and acquaint them with the tumult at Paris, and the true causes thereof. 'That nothing 'was done in that affair through hatred of their Religion, or 'in prejudice to the favour that was granted them by the last 'Edict: but that he might prevent the conspiracy made by 'Coligny and his confederates against the King, the Queen, 'the King's Brethren, the King of Navar, and other Princes 'and Nobles. That it was the King's pleasure that his Edicts 'might be observed, and that the Protestants every where 'taking forth Letters of security from the Presidents, should 'live quietly and safely under the King's protection, upon 'pain of death to any that should injure or molest them in any 'thing. On the other hand, he should admonish the Protestants 'that they should keep themselves quiet at home, and because 'in their Meetings and publick Assemblies there used to be 'such Counsels among the Protestants as were suspitious to Catho-

Carnii Comes.

'Catholicks, and which might put them upon new stirs, there-'fore, that they should abstain from those meetings, and ex-'pect the same favour and safety from the King's clemency 'and goodness as he doth exercise towards others. But if 'they should foolishly neglect this advice, command and 'promise of the King, and should presume to meet publickly, 'stir up troubles, and take up Arms under colour of their own 'defence, he would then proceed against them as against Re-'bels. To the same effect were Letters sent to *Melchior Mon-pesatus*, President of Poictou, *Pris* President of Toures, and the Presidents of other Provinces. *Chabolius* managed his office with great prudence and moderation, having learnt that 'the Protestants, who had hitherto been exasperated by seve-rity and cruelty of punishments, might be better reduced to their duty by clemency and mildness. And matters were or-dered without almost any bloud-shed in *Burgundy*; many returning either through fear, or of their own accord, to the Religion of their Ancestors, renouncing the Protestant Do-ctrines. Only *Claromontius Travius* of the prime Nobility, whose Sister Helena Antonius Grammontanus had married, was, when the news was hot, slain *at Dijon*, in the absence of Chabotius, by the people. Those that were suspected *at Mascon*, being by the King's command apprehended and cast into prison by Philibertus, sustained no further damage.

30. So foul a tempest in France being in some sort allayed, and the liberty of killing and plundering repressed, when the more prudent, that yet no way favoured the Protestant party, did, upon the sad thought of the present state of things, by little and little, come to themselves, and abhorring the fact, did curiously enquire into the causes of it, and how it might be excused, they thus judged, 'That *no example of like cruelty* 'could be found in *all Antiquity*, though we turned over the 'Annals of all Nations. These kinds of outrages had been 'confined to certain men, or to one place, and might have 'been excused by the sense of injury newly offered, or their 'rage did only exercise it self upon those whom it was their 'interest to remove out of the way. For so by the command 'of *Mithridates* King of Pontus upon one message, and the

significa-

'signification of one Letter 40000 Romans were slain in one 'day throughout all Asia. So *Peter King of Arragon* com-
The Sicilian Vespers. 'manded 8000 French-men to be slain in Sicily, who had 'seized upon it in his absence; But their case was far different 'from this: For those Kings exercised their rage upon stran-'gers and foreigners, but this (King) upon his own subjects, 'who were not more committed to his power than to his 'faith and trust. *They* were obliged no otherwise by their 'faith given than to the strangers themselves, but *he* was 'bound in a late league with his neighbouring Kings and 'Princes, to keep that Peace which he had sworn to. *They* 'used no arts unworthy of royal dignity to deceive them, *he* 'for a space abused his new engaged friendship, and the sacred 'Nuptials of his own Sister, whose wedding garment was 'even stained with blood. These are the vertues that use to 'be commended in Kings, Justice, Gentleness and Clemency; 'but savageness and cruelty, as in all others, so especially in 'Princes use to be condemned. Famous through all ages was 'Publius Scipio, who was wont to say he had rather save one 'Citizen, than slay a thousand enemies; and Antonius, who 'was called the Pious, did often use that saying. Kings in-'deed have power of life and death over the Subjects of 'their Realm, but with this limitation, that they should not 'proceed against them till their cause was heard upon a fair 'tryal. This rage and blindness of mind was sent by God 'upon the French, as a judgment for the daily execrations and 'reproaches of the Deity, from which the King himself, ill 'educated by his Mother, and by those Tutors that she ap-'pointed him, did not at all abstain; the example whereof 'proceeding from the Court to the Cities, and from the Ci-'ties to the Country-Towns and Villages, they now at every 'third word, swore by the head, death, blood, heart of God. 'Moreover, the patience of God was even wearied with their 'Whoredoms, Adulteries, and such lusts as are not fit to be 'spoken. Lastly, nature it self doth now expostulate as it 'were with God for his so long patience and forbearance, nor 'could the Country of France any longer bear such prodigi-'ous wickedness. For as for the causes which are pretended

'against

'*against Coligny*, they are feigned with such improbability, 'that they can hardly perswade children, much less can they 'be proved. For how is it probable that Coligny should en- 'ter into such a conspiracy within the walls of Paris, who 'though he were guilty before the Pacification, (to suppose 'that), yet certainly after the Edict, if indeed the publick 'Faith and the King's promises ought to be observed, he came 'to the King guiltless, altogether abhorring a Civil War, 'and solicitous only about the Belgick War? But whereas 'they say he conspired after he had received his wounds, this 'hath less colour of truth. For how could Coligny that 'was indispos'd by two such wounds, now grown old, dis- 'abled in both his arms, one of which the Physitians talked 'of cutting off, rise with three hundred young men that at- 'tended him, against an Army of sixty thousand men, that 'bare him deadly hatred, and that were well appointed with 'Arms? How could he in so little time consult concerning so 'great and vast a design? for he lived hardly forty hours af- 'ter he had received his wound, in which all conference was 'forbidden him by his Physitians. Then, had he been ac- 'cused of any crime, was he not committed to Cossenius and 'his guards, and the passages being every where secured, was 'he not in the King's power, that he might in a moment, if 'it had so pleased the King, been thrust into prison? and wit- 'nesses being prepared, after the manner of judicial proceed- 'ings, might he not have been proceeded against in form of 'Law? Moreover, if Coligni with his Dependents and Clients 'had conspired against the King, why must needs the rest that 'were innocent, so many Noble Matrons and Virgins who 'came thither upon the account of the Marriage, so many 'great-bellied women, so many ancient persons, so many bed- 'ridden persons of both Sexes and all professions, that were 'ignorant of these last counsels of Coligni, be comprehended 'in the same guilt? To whom doth it not seem absurd and 'most ridiculous that Coligni should at so unseasonable a 'time conspire against Navar that profess'd the same Reli- 'gion with him, and whom he had in his power for four

'years together? Thus many did discourse, and so they 'judged, that upon the account of this fact the French Name 'would for a long time labour under an odium and infamy, 'and that posterity would never forget an act of so great 'unworthiness.

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# *Typographical Errors to be Corrected as followeth, in*

THE *Hist. of the Massacre*: Pag. 5. l. 1, Burleigh, l. 7. Cosmus, p. 7. l. 4. compact, p. 8. l. 10. when he, l. 36. Palace near the Louvre, p. 11. l. 1. receive, p. 13. l. 28. Antonius Marasinus Guerchius (*without commas*), so p. 14. l. 2. Rochus Sorbæus Prunæus, l. 7. Armanus Claromontius Pilius, l. 8. Moninius, l. 26. racket, p. 18. l. 7. your Kingdom, p. 21. l. 9. as he did, p. 28. l. 11. Cossenius, l. 36. Atinius, l. 37. Sarlaboux, p. 29. l. 5. Merlin the Minister, Coligny, p. 32. l. 32. Claromontius Marquess of Renel, p. 34. l. 19. Caumontius, p. 35. l. 25. Montalbertus Roboreus, Joach. Vassorius Cunerius, Rupius, Columbarius, Velavaurius, Gervasius Barberius Francurius, p. 36. l. 15. Armanus Claromontius Pilius, l. 32. Bellovarius, l. 36. Durfortius Duracius, l. 37. Gomacius & Buchavanius, p. 40. l. 36. Perionius, p. 41. l. 13. Languages, *who had private feuds and contentions with Carpentar*, & l. 22. to those, l. 30. Roliardus, p. 43. l. 2. Sancomontius Sauromanius, l. 3. Bricomotius, p. 53. l. 31. Meletinus, p. 57. l. 17. Arles, where, l. 36. suspition of poison given, p. 58. l. 2. Mombrunius, p. 62. l. 20. Helionorus Chabotius, p. 63. l. 11. Chabotius.

THE *Hist. of the Powder-Plot*: Pag. 8. l. 27. Harrington, p. 14. l. 30. detest, p. 15 l. 21. for wikes, r. *de Vic*, p. 16. in marg. So on the, p. 22. l. 27. dele Book entituled, l. 29. for Provincial, r. *Father General*.